JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL.

VOL. XLI.

PART I. (HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.)

(Nos. I to IV.—1872; with sixteen plates.)

EDITED BY

THE HONORARY SECRETARIES.

"It will flourish, if naturalists, chemists, antiquaries, philologers, and men of science in different parts of *Asia*, will commit their observations to writing, and send them to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta. It will languish, if such communications shall be long intermitted; and it will die away, if they shall entirely cease." SIR WM. JONES.

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1872.

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PART I.

ERRATA

IN

JOURNAL, ASIATIC SOCIETY, BENGAL, FOR 1872.

Part I.

Page 55, l. 19. *for* Qaráqylpág (?) tribe *read* Qaráqalpák tribe. *and add as a foot note*—"The Qaráqalpáks swore allegiance to Russia in 1732." Perofski's Narrative of the Khiva Expedition in 1839.

—— 73, l. 9. *for* سولهگو *read* سولهگر.

—— —, l. 14 *for* خزيره *read* جزيره.

—— 79, foot note, *for* Dalál (Jalál ?) *read* Dalál (Dányál).

—— 106, l. 7 *for* بظفرآباد *read* مظفرآباد.

——, —— l. 14 *for* Zafarábád *read* Muzaffarábád.

—— 107, l. 4, *for* المعين *read* النصر.

—— —, l. 7, *for* Mu'in *read* Naçr.

—— 175, line 23, *for* it is *read* is it.

—— 178, „ 42, *for* स्वतन्ता *read* स्वतन्त्ता.

—— 179, „ 14, *for* were *read* was.

—— 180, „ 16, *for* Rudra *read* of Rudra.

—— 182, „ 7, *for* If *read* It.

—— 187, „ 28, *for* vertebra *read* vertebræ.

—— 198, „ 25, *for* As'valáyanás *read* Ásvaláyana's.

—— 216, „ 15, *for* Kalandavanonvana *read* Kalandavanouvana.

—— 220, „ 13, from below, *for* cette ville *read* cette ville aux Brahmanes.

—— 252, „ 15, et passim, *for* Sangi *read* Sangin.

—— 263, „ 9, *for* Giriyak *read* Giryak.

JOURNAL

OF THE

ASIATIC SOCIETY.

Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. I.—1872.

List of Words of the Nicobar Language as spoken at Camorta, Nancowry, Trinkutt, and Katschal.—*By* E. H. MAN, ASSISTANT SUPERINTENDENT IN CHARGE OF THE NICOBARS.—COMMUNICATED BY THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.

A.

Absent (nothing), Hadart.
Ache, Tchiak.
After, Latdok.
Air, Hainh.
Alive, Ye-erm.
All, Aumtome.
Always, Dul.
Ambergris, Kampé.
Angry, Muhungeore.
Another, Decoh.
Answer, Oopschap.
Arm, Chee-koal.
Ask (to), Atot.
Axe, Enloin.

B.

Baby, Kunyoon.
Back, Oke.
Bad, Had-lapoa, or Menkain-yosheh.
Bamboo, Hadwah.
Basket, Hintai.
Bathe (to), Lawn.
Beat (to punish), Oodee.
Beard, Enhoing.
Before, Hadek.
Begin (to), Hoolatai.
Belly, Weeung.
Below, Deg.
Betel-nut, Heeya.
Betel-leaf, Dai Heeya.
Betel-tree, Tcheea Heeya.
Big, Kadoo.
Bird, Sheetchua.
Bird's nest (edible), Heekai.
Birds (ordinary), Hong-Kang.
Biscuit, or bread, Puáng.
Bite (to), Opkah.
Black, Ool.

Blind, Pukeean.
Blood, Wah.
Blue, Tchoongoa.
Boat (Euporean), Haifoor.
Body, Oke Enha.
Bone, Ong-aing.
Boot, Denapla or Shàpatá.
Bow and Arrow, Sheuna-Foing.
Boy (male child), Lit.
Bracelet, Hutlaw.
Brass, Kalahee.
Brave, Yock-cháká.
Breast, To-ákh.
Breeches, Kunha.
Broken, Dakgna.
Brother, Tchao.
Brother (half), Tama Oosheh.
Brother (own), Tchao Enlooya.
Bullet, Plooroo.
Buy (to), Hullao.

C.

Calf (of leg), Kunmoana.
Calm (no wind), Nyám.
Cane, Nát.
Cannon, Hen-wow.
Canoe, Dooey.
Can (to be able), Doh.
Cat, Cochin.
Chair, Kutteardeh.
Cheat (to), Hai yoo nang.
Cheek, Tapooah.
Chest, Undaiyáh.
Chief, Oomai-muttai.
Child, Kenh-yoon.
Child (own), Koo-un.
Chin, Shummah.
Clean, Koten.
Cloth, Loih.
Cloth (strip of), Lanoa.
Cloud, Kullahaya.
Coat, Kunhoin.
Cocoanut, green, Gnee naw.
Cocoanut, ripe, Gnoat.
Cocoanut tree, Wee-ow.
Cock (fowl), Kamoy-koin.
Cold, Kaay.
Come (to), Kaiteri.
Copy (tō), Hoomyee.
Coral, Shai-yonn.
Corner, Ongkaiung.
Cover, Oke.
Count (Imperative) Haro.
Crying, Tcheem.
Coward, Punma-hoin.
Custom, Tatoicha.
Cyclone, Hoorasheh.

D.

Dance (to), Katoaka.
Danger (fear), Poohah.
Darkness, Toey-chool.
Daughter, Kooun Engkána.
Day, Haing.
Dead, Kapa.
Deep, Ool.
Devil, Eewee.
Dhoty, Loih Sharong.
Difficult, Gnia-nayun.
Dirt, Yueh.
Dirty, Oomeh.
Dishonest (untrustworthy), Chit-tong-natau.
Distant, Hoee.
Divide (to), Hendowa.
Doctor, Munloenna.
Dog, Am.
Dollar, Para.
Drink (to), Top.

E.

Ear, Nang.
Earring, Eetchai.
Earth, Doo.
East, Fool.
East wind, Hainh-fool.
Easy, Too-yayun.

Eat (to), Okenok.
Ebb Tide, Tchoh.
Edible Bird's nest, Heekai.
Egg, Hooya.
Elbow, Deg-ong Kaiung.
Enough, Layah.
European (man), Bajo taten hamatt.
Eye, Owl-mat.
Eyebrow, Oke-mat.
Eyelash, Kut-fight.

F.

Face, Gnoitchaka.
Farewell, Yu-tchuh.
Father, Tchia Engkoin.
Far, Hoee.
Fear, Poohah.
Feast, Yukura.
Feather, Pooyawl.
Fight, Pamou.
Finger, Kaneetai.
Finish (to), Laird.
Fire, Héoch.
Fish, Ká.
Flesh, Enh-há.
Fly, Yooch.
Flute, Hunhell.
Forehead, Lal.
Forget (to), Painatau.
Fowl, Kamoy.
Foot, (upper part), Okelah.
Foot sole, Awl-lah.
Friend, or, my friend, Kaiyol.
Flood Tide, Hayow.

G.

Give, Hanh huttar, or, Hom koo am.
Girl, Hooleeyen.
Go (to), Tchuh.
Gold, Emloum.
Good, Lapoa.
Grandfather, Tcho-um.
Grass (jungle), Opyooap.
Grass Lalang, Shenfo.
Grass, ordinary, Shen.
Great, Kadoo.
Green, Tchoongoa.
Guano, Aingala-ah.
Gun, Hunndell.
Gunpowder, Taroo.

H.

Hair (short), Yoo-ock.
Hair (long), Hunkoiya.
Hand, Koal.
Handkerchief, Langsheh.
Handsome, Yahnaisnehka.
Happy, Yah-natau.
Hat, Shapeo.
Hate (to), Ha-natau.
Hatchet, Enloin.
Have (to), Ought.
Head, Koee.
Headache, Tchiak-koee.
Hear, Yang, or Katool.
Heart, Enka-hato.
Heaven (sky), Kullahaya.
Heavy, Langung.
Hen, Ramoy Engkána.
Here, Eeta.
Hill, Kohnjuan.
Hog, Nod.
Hot, Ké-owyun.
House, Gnee.
Hungry, Oingna.
Husband, Koin.
Hut, Kunsherpa.

I.

Imitate (to copy), Hoomyee.
Impossible, Oolahad Sheh.
Inside, Awl.
Invitation, Kala-kala youndc.
Iron, Karao.
Island, Poolgna.

J.

Jar, Koodun.
Jungle, Oltchua.

Jacket, Kunhoin.

K.

Key, Tunwahn.
Kill (to), Fhaw Kooce.
Knee, Kokanoang.
Knife, Innoyet.
Knife, (Toddy), Innoyet Tua.

L.

Lad, Iluh.
Land, Oal Mattai.
Large, Kadoo.
Laugh, Ité.
Lead, Tchoomper.
Leaf, Dai.
Leg, Lah.
Lemon, Carroy.
Lie (to lie down), Laan.
Lie (to tell lies), Mattai.
Life, Ahn.
Light (to light the fire), Haiyooing.
Light (not heavy), Had lang ung.
Lightning, Maig.
Like (similar to), Hangnésheh.
Lime, Shooka.
Lips, Manoing.
Little, Ompehnsheh.
Long, Kialeg.
Love, Shaiyong-yuntaw.
Listen (Imp.) Katool.

M.

Man, Paiyooh.
Man (old), Pomoy-sheh.
Man (young), Maiyerkh, or, Iluh.
Measure, Tah.
Medicine, Danoon.
Moon, Kahair.
Monkey, Dooed.
More, Paitery.
Morning, Ha kee.
Mother, Tchia Engkána.
Mosquito, Menh hoya.
Mouth, Awl fuang.
Much, Odo hutchee.
Musket, Hundell.
Murder, Fhaw-kooce.
Muscle, E-hay.

N.

Nail (finger), Kaischua.
Nail (iron), Hun em.
Name, Layung.
Navel, Fon.
Near (not far) Mé-enh-houh.
Neck, Onglongna.
Needle, Tchfa room.
Never, Kit ma.
Nest, Hongkang.
No, Wat or watchion.
North, Kappa.
Nose, Moanh.
Nothing, Hadart.

O.

Oar, Kan noot.
Obey (to), Yu yung.
Often, Dul.
Oil, Gnai.
Old (animate), Boomooashee Oomiolha.
Old (inanimate), Lat shee.
Open, Foigna.

P.

Paddle, Pow-wha.
Pan (cooking), Chattee.
Pandanus, (tree), Larohm.
Paper, Lehpery.
Parrot, Kattoch.
Perhaps, Yonghuddeh.
Pig, Nod.
Pigeon, Moongmoo.
Pineapple, Shoodoo.
Pipe, Tanop.
Plant (to), Opeep.
Plantain, Hehpoo.
Plenty, Yolor Ooroohud sheh.
Poor, Pooap.
Present, Tunnier sheh.

Pretty, Yahnai shehka.

Q.

Question, Humma.
Quill-pen, Anet-lay-bery.

R.

Rain, Ahmee.
Rat, Koonaté.
Rattan, Pantang.
Row, Hooyow.
Red, Ak.
Rice, Arosh.
Rich, Chumwoahun.
Ripe, Eeshiun.
Ring (finger), Kunlongtai.
River (stream), Whaiédá.
Road, Kaiee.
Rope, Naat.
Roof, Oke.
Row, Kán nót.
Rudder, Hunlaidedlá.
Run, Deeunna Hundial.

S.

Sand, Pee-yet.
Sea, Komaleh.
See (to), Hadduk.
Ship, Tjiong.
Shirt, Kunhoin.
Short, Mitatu, or, Meh-enh-Shehkoee
Shot, Kutchung-kutchung.
Shoot, Hadeel.
Shoes, Shápátá.
Shoulder, Koee-oonga.
Show (Imp.) Hychung.
Shut, Kurrup.
Sick, Tchiak.
Sing, Eekaisher.
Sit, Eepoohenhde.
Sister, Tchao.
Sister, (half), Tama-oo-sheh.
Sister (own), Tchao Enlooya.
Skin, Oke.
Sky, Kulahaya.
Slander (to), Kaiyawnasheepaiyoo.
Sleep, Eeteeah.
Small, Ompaisheh.
Smell, Eekait.
Smoke, Fosh.
Snake (Boa), Toolan.
Snake (ordinary), Paik.
Sometimes, Kaiyai or Hang-hang.
Son, Koo ur Engkoin.
Speak, Olyola.
Spear, Sha nenh.
Steamer, Tjiong-héoeh.
South, Lákhna.
Star, Shok maleicha.
Strong, Koang or Mong egg.
Stone, Mungeh.
Stockings, Hunho-ulla.
Stand, Omshierma.
Stomach-ache, Tchaik Weeung.
Stupid (not clever), Hadokai.
Sugar, Shoonk.
Sugarcane, Máo.
Summer (N. E. Monsoon), Koeekapa.
Sun, Haing.

T.

Table, Menh sheh.
Tool, Deg.
Take, Okair.
Tell, Tchong Koee.
Teeth, Kanap.
There, Mataréo.
Thief, Káloh or Kahalacher.
Thigh, Poolaw.
Throat, Kolulla.
Thunder, Koodei (or Koomtoogna).
Tipsy, Hoo-yoy.
Tobacco, Oomhoi.
To-day, Len-heng.
Toe, Kaneehlah.
To-morrow, Haing Hákee.
Tongue, Kalleetah.
Torch, Pal.

Tortoise-shell, Káp.
Turtle, Kap oltchua.
Tree, Tcheea.
Turban, Langshch.

U.

Ugly, Oomeh had sheka.
Uncle, Hoey tchia.
Unhappy, Kit yah natau.

V.

Valley, Awl-hok.
Village, Awl-mattai.
Voyage, (long), Yohatayha.
Voyage, (short), Yock dooan.

W.

Walk, Ongshongha.
Want, Yok.
Warm, Kee-ow-yan.
Warrior, Hoo-Ekka.
Wash (to make clean), Atchek.
Water (fresh), Dak.
Water, Komaleh.
Weak, Had-ko-ang.
Weapon (Europe), Hundell.
Weapon (Nicobar), Paiyooha.
Weep, Tcheem.
Weigh (to), Kunlah.
West, Shoo-hong.
White, Tenhya.
When, Kahé.
Wife, Kán.
Wind, Hainh.
Wing, Dánoyen.
Winter (S. W. Monsoon), Lakhna-shoohong.
Woman, Engkáná.
Wood, Ooneeha.
Work, Winnaír shi sheh.
White, At-ait.

Y.

Yam, Kopaeh.
Yawn, Hing-ap.
Yellow, Laaom.
Yes, Aonka.
Yesterday, Mundee.
Young, Iluh.

NUMERALS.

1, Hayang.
2, Anh.
3, Loeh.
4, Fooan.
5, Tanai.
6, Tafooel.
7, Eeshat.
8, Enfuan.
9, Hayang hutta.
10, Shom.
11, Shom hayang.
12, Shom anh.
20, Hayang momtchierma.
30, Hayang momtchierma doktai.
40, Anh momtchierma.
50, Anh momtchierma doktai.
100, Tanai momtchierma.

TIME.

6 a. m. (sunrise), Hakee.
9 a. m., Alhákee.
Forenoon, Kohin dowha.
Noon, Kumheng.
1 p. m., Tchin foitua.
3 p. m., Tchin foitua, ainhsheh.
5 p. m., Ladéya.
Sunset, Pooyoieh.
Dusk, Hammok gnok.
Midnight, Yuang hátám.
1 a. m., Hanh-hooaka.
3 a. m., Pooyeh.
5 a. m., Tchungneeall.
Day, Haing.
Night, Hátám.
To-day, Len heng.
To-morrow, Haing-hákee.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

I or we, Chier.
You, Menh.

He, she, it, An, or, Poonan.
They, Oomtohm.
Who, Ychee.

Possessive Pronouns.

This, Neena.
That, Anaay.
Your, Tchiang menh.
Yours, Efœ or Efoye bayoo.
My, Tchiang chier.

Sentences.

Come here, Kaiteri.
I will come, Yudook poonchier.
He will come, Yudook poonan.
Why are you afraid? Choounpahar menh?
Where is your village? Choon mattai menh?
Go there, Yu chu, or, chu.
Bring me some fish, Okai káh paiteshgh.
Light a fire, Haiyoon heoch.
I don't know, Kit-akáh.
I know, Akáh.
Take away, Kai tery.
Who is he? Tchee ka an?
Get up, Koongha.
He lives at—, Kutool poonan na.
Be quick, La La.
Give me back (return), Yu Ooshoor hutta.
Don't come, Wat if edook.
Call that man, Eoorta paiyooh.
I am glad, Yonutto kaun chier.
I am sorry, Gniat nato kaun chier.
If it rains, I will not come, Yon ahmee kit to.
Have you ever been to—? Makun menh?
I have never been to—, Chier Kitma.
Where are you going to? Yu chun menh?
I am going on board the ship, Yu toaltjiong chier.
I want to go, Kai-yeng.
I will remain here, Yu katog kyaeeta.
Have you any shells? Tchian kun menhta pooker?
How much do you want? Kah indokna sheh yok menh?
This is too much, Ooroohad shehka.
Sit down, Eepoonhenhdé.

More Buddhist Remains in Orissa.—*By* J. Beames, C. S., *Balasore.*

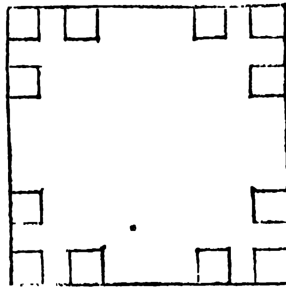
In continuation of the note on the Buddhist remains at Kopari recently contributed by me, I wish to record the existence of some more structures in other parts of Orissa, whose exact similarity to those at Kopari affords a confirmation of the theories suggested by that place.

On my way back from Kaṭak, where I had been to attend the Durbar, which was not held owing to the melancholy incident which has spread such a gloom over all India, I pitched my tents at the village of Chhatiá (ଛତିଆ) sixteen miles north of the town of Kaṭak. In the evening as I was taking a stroll along a village road, west of the encampment, I came to a flat surface of laterite closely resembling that at Kopari. At the foot of a small hill

was a square platform, about 40 feet square, of hewn laterite stones, from which rose twelve pillars, octagonal and with rounded capitals, but much worn by the action of the elements, and covered with grey lichen. To the west of this was a rude square building composed of the same stones, roughly put together without mortar. This had evidently been constructed from the stones of the older structure, as there were pieces of mouldings, capitals of pillars and sculptured stones, some upside down, and all evidently out of place. Inside, smeared with vermilion and turmeric, were numerous portions of statues, heads, arms, a mutilated trunk or two, few of which bore any resemblance to the traditional figures of Hindu mythology.

The images unfortunately are so smeared with vermillion and oil, that it is difficult to make out all the details. There seems to be a serpent's hood over the head of one, but it is too much worn to admit of any certainty.

The next day the camp was at Dharmsala on the Bráhmaní river, 31 miles north of Kaṭak. One mile to the west of the road, at the foot of a little hill, on a small promontory jutting out into the river, stands a temple of Síva, under the name of Gokarnes'wara Mahádeva, or as the peasants call it, Gok'ns'r Mahádeb. This is one of the usual Síva temples of the melon or ninepin shape, so common in Orissa. It faces the east, and in front of it is a square platform of laterite stones, surrounded by pillars exactly similar in design to the Kopari ones; they are twelve in number, three at each corner of the platform thus:—



The Mahádeb temple has been built of stones taken from some part of this ancient structure, though the fact is concealed by its being entirely covered with a smooth coating of plaster. The Hindú statues of late date surrounding this temple are of remarkable beauty and fineness. The principal figure is called by the people Saraswatí, and represents a smiling woman with four arms holding a conch and lotus, with many female attendants with laughing faces grouped round the principal which is not in relief, but has the stone cut away at the back of the figure.

This image was found in the river some years ago, and the others were found in the jungle close by, or as the attendant Bráhman states, suddenly appeared out of the rock, and ordered themselves to be worshipped!



Notes on a Visit to the Tribes inhabiting the Hills south of Síbságar, Asám.—*By* S. E. Peal, Esq.

The various Hill tribes bordering on the valley of Asám, both on the north-east and south, present so many points of interest and seem to be so little known, that I take the opportunity of putting these few notes together of a short trip into the hills to the south of Síbságar district, Mauza' Oboepúr, hoping they may be of some use or interest.

Our ignorance of these various tribes, their many languages, customs, and internal arrangements, seems to be only equalled by their complete ignorance of us, our power and resources. The principle of clanship is here carried to the extreme; not only are there numerous well marked tribes inhabiting considerable tracts, as the Bútias, the Abors, Singphús, Nágás, but these again are cut up into small, and usually isolated, communities, who, among the Nágás at least, are constantly at war with each other. Their isolation is often so complete, that their resources lie wholly within their limited area.

There seems good reason to suppose that the present state of things has existed for a considerable period. Not only are the languages spoken by contiguous tribes often mutually unintelligible, but the still better evidence of strongly marked physical variation holds good. And to these inferences of a long period must be added the tangible fact, that at their villages, or 'changs', and not elsewhere in the hills, there are numerous Jack trees, many of them very large, and not less than 400 years old, I should say, as the Jack is a slow growing wood.

I had often wished to visit some of these 'changs', but had not the opportunity till this occasion; and though the season was rather advanced, I determined to go, as the Rájah of the Banparas had invited me for the third or fourth time. My nearest neighbour consented to accompany me, and arrangements were made to start on the 30th May, at day-break.

Before daylight our people were astir, caught the elephants, and tied our baggage. At 6 A. M., we started. Our party consisted of two native muharrirs, a barqandáz, and six Leklas, an interpreter, or Sokeal, joining us afterwards.

It was a beautiful morning, a fresh breeze blowing across Bhagmorial Potar as we passed through it, though we lost it on entering the jungle at foot of the hills beyond. The path, so-called, we found clearer than was to be expected; fallen trees and such like obstructions were singularly few. Game was looked for in vain, although it was evidently a good shooting ground; and tracks of buffaloe, pig, and deer, were plentiful. This luck indeed pursued us the whole way, though it must have been exceptional. We soon reached the Ladia Ghur, an old road, leading from Kukila Mukh

viâ Nazíra to Jaipúr, and here so covered by jungle and bamboo as to be wholly impassable. It is usually considered the boundary line between us and the so-called Nágá territory.

The land then descends a few feet, and the river Tíok was seen ahead at a very picturesque little bend, making a capital foreground, as it splashed over the boulders and ran among the snags, the hills behind rising clear and blue. The swash of the water was quite a pleasant sound to us, so long accustomed to these muddy streams. After crossing it, the road lay through a fine piece of high land, and soon after entered and went along the bed of a small stream. We here dismounted; for the bed of the stream afforded a good path, as there was but little water, and consisted of sand and pebbles. Blocks of petrified wood lay about in profusion, and so good that the first piece I took up, I had mistaken for real wood. Quartz pebbles were plentiful, but the rock on all sides was sandstone. In some places the traffic had worn down the rock into a narrow passage, where only one at a time could pass, and also into holes and steps, very well for Nágás to grip with their bare feet, but slippery and unaccommodating to thick-soled boots. To this narrow gorge succeeded an open tract close to the foot of the first hill, part of which had been cultivated by Nágás a few years ago, and had now relapsed into rank grass, as Ulú, Borata and Hamorú, with a few trees here and there, and would in another few years be forest again. We halted here to let the elephants come up: the path in several places, having been obstructed by bamboo, had to be cleared a little for them. After another steep ascent, we reached the head of the pass, or lowest point in this first range, which here runs parallel with the valley.

The range of view extended from Jaipúr in the east round by the hills on the 'North bank,' (or continuation of the Himálayas) which were beautifully distinct, and then as far west as Cherydo and Nazíra. Both the hills we were on, and those bounding the north, presented a strong contrast to the plain we had just left. The latter seemed as flat as it was possible to be, literally a sea of jungle forest, an enormous dead level. The smallness of the area under cultivation surprised us more than any thing: it did not look one per cent. The Potars I could easily recognize, Búrasálí, Nágáhát, Bhagmorial, Borhoh, Tyrai, Tinikuria, Rohona Potar, none were missed; yet they were but little green streaks, hardly noticed in the general view. With binoculars I could make them all out, even my bungalow houses. The amount of waste land is enormous. The Brahmáputra was not visible, though to be seen at times they say; we searched also in vain for Síbságar; the distance perhaps was too great, though it must have been within our horizon line.

While we were enjoying the prospect, the chief brother of the Rájah made his appearance with some of his people, and seemed quite delighted,

talking away as if we understood every word of his Nágá, and rattling his beads and bits of metal as he walked about. We soon afterwards proceeded over some undulating ground, and then took to the bed of another stream, also rocky, narrow, dark, and slippery; the rocks still being sandstone, with a dip to the south of 70° to 80°, in fact almost vertical, the strike running nearly east and west like the range itself. At a more open part of the road, we came to a large pit, about 12′ × 8′ × 12′ deep, right in the path, and made to catch wild elephants. The bottom literally bristled with large bamboo spears, 5 or 6 feet long, firmly fixed in the earth, and carefully sharpened—certain death to any elephant falling in. The pit was nearly hidden by overhanging grass and creepers and was dug at a spot where the path on either side was difficult, and the edges were undermined. After seeing our elephants pass this safely, we went on the road now descending, and still over rock, usually very slippery, and winding about abruptly, when after a second steep descent, we heard the rush of water below and caught glimpses of the hills beyond. The stream was soon reached. It is a tributary of the Tiok, called the Sissa, running here to the east. It was now a small stream, but the rounded boulders on the flanks bore witness to its being at times a formidable obstacle. Having our doubts about the elephants being able to reach this point, we sat down at a little 'Dhubí', or water hole, under the shade of a Bor tree. The pool turned out to be full of fish, so plentiful in fact that on throwing in a small bit of gravel the whole bottom seemed to rise from all sides. Most of them were small; there were however a few large ones near the bottom.

The only way the Nágás take them is by hand or poison; but we saw a lot of Nágánis carefully turning the stones over, and occasionally catching a little one.

A Sowdong and a Hundekai both of whom I knew well, were here waiting for our arrival. A 'Sowdong' is a sort of travelling deputy to the Rájah; and a 'Hundekai' is a resident deputy, and is of a higher grade. The highest next to the Rájah and his family is a 'Khúnsai,' and there is one to each village. We consulted them as to the best route, and they at first advised us to go along the bed of the stream; but as it was so full of huge rocks and holes, that no elephant could pass, we had to decide on the ordinary mountain path viâ Longhong, the shortest way, but by far the steepest. The elephants at last made their appearance; how they managed to get down places, where we had to scramble on all fours was a mystery to us—at times they seemed immediately over us.

We crossed some deep clefts over which there were rude bridges. The steepness of the ascent, especially under the hot sun, soon began to tell on us, and the elephants seemed so distressed, though we were not half way up, that we called a halt, and held a council, the first result being to unload the ele-

phants and send them back to the Sissa, as we saw that we could not rely on Nágá estimates of distance or difficulty.

The Rájah's brother and the Hundekai of Longhong now had a long and noisy palaver, as to who should, would, or could, furnish the men to carry the few things left by the elephants. Their real power over internal affairs seems small; the men of Longhong treated the Royal brother as little better than their equal, and almost came to a row. Row enough there always is when they argue any matter however small; it seems their custom to speak loud and look excited over nothing. The Longhong Hundekai at last agreed to get the three or four men required, as his 'chang' was near, and we hastened their discussion by saying that if men did not soon come, we should follow our elephants.

The Rájah's brother now started off for Banpara to report that we would not reach it that night, and get some huts built half way between Longhong and Banpara where we could sleep.

This second hill is also of sandstone, running into a finer kind, and then into a laminated clay, with a dip to the south of about 70° or 80°, and often vertical and several times inverted. At the surface it seemed to form a rich loam, and almost the whole hill was under rice, though seemingly a bad crop.

The road still followed the crest of the ridge, as is usual, and we soon came to the region of bamboo, which is found close to the changs; and where it branched off leading to Banpara, we found the Longhong Khúnsai seated in state on some leaves, his spear stuck in the ground beside him. At some 20 feet on each side were other officials, also in state on leaves and with their spears. The Khúnsai I knew well, and had a talk with him. I found, he had a bad foot, tied up in very dirty linen, and told him to wash both and keep a water-poultice on. The only extra-decoration they indulged in was a topí with a long feather in the crown. We were passing on to see Longhong, when the old fellow hailed us, and gave us his formal permission to proceed. This we had omitted to wait for, but it seems to be considered by them necessary.

A Longhong went with us, while the rest awaited our return to this point. We now saw for the first time how they weed the 'dhán,' commencing at the bottom of the slopes and working upwards, in parties of ten to twenty. The dhán stalks seem far apart, and they use a bamboo loop to scrape up the earth, removing the weeds with the left hand and throwing them in little heaps. Each house or family seems to have its dhán marked out by sticks, stones, or weed heaps, and neighbours combine to work in batches. The rate at which they get over the ground was astonishing, the work being well done. The dhán was not in ear, and this was their second weeding. I was told, it was enough for this year.

The land had last year, I believe, been redeemed from young forest and

was almost destitute of trees and stumps. The labour they are put to for a scanty crop is almost incredible. They seldom cultivate the same piece of land for more than two years in succession, as grass comes up rapidly the second year, and they have no way of eradicating it, the only implement used in cultivation being the *dhão*. After the second year, they let the land go into jungle and make fresh clearances for their dhán. The hills are thus in all stages of jungle and forest, now all grass, as Borata, Ulú, and Hamorú; or ground deserted for three years, all in small tree jungle (for the trees kill the grass in that time); on other patches again larger trees may be seen, five and six years old, or eight and ten, and no grass at all. In about ten years all the available rice-growing land has had a turn, and they can clear the young forest again. They thus require far more land than the ryots in the plains, especially if the smallness of the crop yielded is taken into account.

We soon reached Longhong passing through fine groves of Lottu and Wattu bamboo, and came upon the fortifications of which I had heard so often. The first attempt almost made us laugh. There were a few sticks of ekra and bamboo stuck in like a common fence, on the off-side of a ditch about 6 feet wide by 6 feet deep, over which there was a small bridge.

A little further on we passed some small raised changs, on which we saw bodies tied up in Tocoopalm leaves, and roofed in. We heard it was the way in which they disposed of their dead. All customs relating to this subject are worth noting, so we examined them with some interest.

We next came to a kind of palisade, with a long narrow passage between bamboo walls, three feet apart, not very strong, but enough to check a rush. It was the most formidable point of defence, as it was commanded by a large rock in front, on which a house had been built to give extra cover, and had a precipice on the left, the right also being steep. There seemed to be no one on duty, which was contrary to what I had heard and expected. On entering the chang, we could see very few houses at a time, the ground being very uneven, and the paths steep and tortuous, eminently calculated for defence, and such as give the spear its fullest advantage, when opposed to firearms.

The houses were all thatched with Tocoopalm leaves and not grass, as in the plains, the centre posts also all projected through the roof line for some 5 or 6 feet, and were bound with leaves, presenting a very singular appearance. They were built without any arrangement, no doubt many times over on the same sites, the level being eked out by a platform raised on posts, which people use to sit on, or dance, or hold open air meetings.

But by far the most striking feature was the number and size of the Jack trees, many of them evidently very old. We were told that the fruit, of which there seemed a large crop, was religiously respected. Each house has certain trees. The timber used in building was also usually Jack, and as

it is one of the most durable timbers, the Jack trees serve two purposes. The hill summits around are destitute of them, unless where there is a village. There seem in fact no villages without Jacks and no Jacks without a village. We have therefore here a valuable means of reviewing their past history to some extent, as Jack, *Artocarpus integrifolius*, is a slow-growing wood, closely allied to the Sam, Chama, or *Artocarpus chaplaska* Roxb., so celebrated for building and other purposes, and which I suspect is the 'Satin-wood' of our English timber-dealers.

Water supply seemed a great difficulty. We often saw little troughs placed to catch drippings from the rock, but containing little else than mud. There are no tanks, I hear, and as most of the 'changs' are built on the hill tops, where springs are not likely to be numerous, it seems a serious difficulty, enhanced too by the strata being all on edge and sandstone. At this village, the water is obtained in a deep cleft facing the north and some 300 yards down; but even this occasionally fails.

We were taken to the highest point in the village from whence we had a fine view of the surrounding changs. To the east, nearest to Longhong and the plains, lay the Húrú Mútons' chang on its peak, which is wooded to the top. With the binoculars the houses could be clearly seen in detail, they seemed the same as in Longhong. The Húrú Mútons are the deadly enemies of the Banpara tribe, though so close. Next to the south lie the Kúlún Mútons, also on a hill, and next to them again the Bor Mútons, on a conical hill with the village on the apex. More to the south and in the extreme distance was the chang of the Neyowlung Nágás, or, as they are called, Abors; and due south was Unúgáon, one of the four Banpara villages. Several small ranges ran behind these, all inhabited by Abors, up to the foot of the Deoparbat due east. This mountain is uninhabited, and called 'Deoparbat' from an idea that it is haunted by a Deo, or devil. Hollow noises are said to be heard on the summit, where a lake is believed to exist. It is wooded to the top, and the western face is rather precipitous; here and there large masses of rock stand out clear of the forest and so light as to look like quartz. From behind Unúgáon a large hill rises, shutting in the view; on it are the so-called Abors, who can never get into the plains, though in sight, as the border tribes would "cut" them, as it is called. In the foreground of this hill lay a series of small hills, all Banpara territory, and on one of them we were shewn the village of that name where the Rájah resides. Nearly due south-west, Joboka rises, and is as conspicuous here as from the plains, having a gradual slope on its southern face, and a very steep one to the north. It is the hill of the Joboka tribe, with whom the Banparas are constantly at war, with varying success. As we were viewing the changs around, a good many women, boys, and girls came to stare at us, a compliment we often involuntarily returned.

The sun was now getting low, and we returned to the place where we had left the Khúnsai seated in state. He called several of the groups of weeders up to see us. They at first seemed afraid to come, most of them being women and girls, a few stunted and old, and some strapping wenches, who could do more climbing in a day than I in a week. We then took the path down the hill and among the dhán, that led to Banpara, many weeding parties on the road stopping to stare and jabber at us. They certainly seemed to work hard, though it was nearly dark, and long past the time to leave off work in the plains.

We now reached the point where the huts had been built on the Sissa River, and just as it got dark, our men with the loads came in at the same time.

The temporary huts were rude in the extreme, consisting only of a few sticks stuck in the ground and others laid across. Some wild plantain leaves formed our so-called roof. The stream rushing among the stones gave us a pleasant reminiscence of home, and soon sent us to sleep.

About an hour after, we were all roused up by a loud thunder-clap, and found by the incessant lightning that a storm was coming up. We therefore hastily rigged walls to the chang we slept on, a waterproof sheet making a good roof; our guns were stowed under our heads and our sundries under the chang. The rain came down in torrents, but we were so tired that we fell asleep, and did not find till morning that we had been saturated. Some Nágás came during the storm down from Banpara, bound for Longhong; how they managed to find their way in the dark puzzled us. We also heard bears not far off.

On the 31st we were up early, and had our breakfast. The royal brother now made his appearance, several Khúnsais and Hundekais came too, to escort us, and all who could muster up the remains of a coat, wore the same in our honour. On starting, we adopted the Nágá custom of using a staff, as they do their 'jatties', or spears, to assist us in getting over the rough ground, and found we got on far easier by its help.

The path, at first very steep and up a ferny cleft, soon became more level, and passed round the shoulders and along the ridges of a series of small hills, tolerably level in the main, and at a sufficient height to give us a good view of our surroundings. A part of the road had just been cleared for us, or the jungle and grass had been thrown aside, for which we were much obliged to them as the grass was literally dripping with dew. As in Asám, the morning dew here is like a shower, and on pausing for a moment, it sounded quite loud falling from the trees and jungle.

At about half way to Banpara, we came to a kind of abbatis, at a point that could be easily defended, *i. e.*, a narrow ridge with a precipice on each

side, and not more than four or five yards across. The obstruction was commanded by a rise in the ground beyond, on which there was good cover, while there was none on the near side. The fortification could not be seen, even from a distance, and was no doubt the best point of defence on the route. There was, however, another point further on where the road for a short distance was cut on the face of a precipice, and only a few inches wide. Here a few determined men could hold any number in check for some time, the precipice being so steep, that I plucked a leaf off a tree top that was fully eighty feet high. We soon after came to the region of Dollu and Wattu bamboos, of which there were immense numbers, and here saw cattle tracks, both cows and buffaloes, and were told they came by the same route as we did, which we could hardly credit.

They here asked our permission to fire a salute, no doubt to warn the Rájah's people of our proximity. We soon after reached the first point in the village finding it a counterpart of Longhong, extremely irregular and broken up, the houses all thatched with Tocoo leaves, and the centre posts projecting. The Jack trees were both large and numerous; we also saw a Nágá 'bik', or poison, tree, the leaves of which are used to intoxicate fish, an endogen and not unlike an aloe on a long stem. They at once conducted us to the Rájah's house, the largest by far in the chang, and also the highest. It was a repetition of all the other houses. We had to climb up a notched tree stem to reach the bamboo chang floor, and found ourselves at once in the Royal presence.

The Rájah seemed a shrewd man, about 40 to 45 years old, tall and of course tattooed. He was seated on a sort of huge stool about 8 feet by 4 or 5, over which there was a coloured rug of either Indian or English manufacture, certainly not Nágá. We were pointed out to a similar sort of bench opposite, at about 8 or 10 feet distance, where we sat down, glad to get a rest after our toil, and to look around us a little. The heir-apparent sat on a smaller throne, to the Rájah's right and at some 15 or 20 feet, a strapping fine young fellow. He had an heir-apparent-manner about him which was to some extent very telling, and was decorated *à la Naga;* for with exception of a black cloth flung round him while he sat, he had but a bead and cowrie costume, and was tattooed also of course. The Royal brothers of the Rájah were all en suite, and sat about Royalty on little three-legged stools, the whole of them with faces of such intense gravity shaded off by a futile attempt at indifference, that they looked supremely ludicrous. Of the brothers we found there were six; we had only heard of two. On the outskirts of this upper ten, sat and stood the sons and nephews, &c., some of them very smart young fellows, and decorated in the most fantastic style, and very few tattooed. In the distance sat the outsiders, and not a few. Most of the Khúnsais, Hundekais, and Sowdongs, who could do so, came to see us.

We were now treated to unlimited discourse, several speaking at once, sometimes in Asamese which we could understand, and often in Nágá which we could not—chiefly as to how the Rájah had heard of us, and wished to look on us as "brothers", that I had been some three or four years so near and had never visited him before. The Rájah spoke of the difficulty which his people often had in getting grain, and that they then relied to a great extent on several villages in the plains. We in fact heard that in the Rájah's house alone was there any considerable quantity of grain from last year's crop. Some little stress was laid on our passing "their Duárs," and we could plainly see that they had but vague ideas regarding their position. We were invited to behold the power and grandeur of the Rájah of Banpara, whose sway extended over several mountains and four villages, *i. e.*, Banpara, Longhong, Unú, and Nokrong, while neighbouring Royalty often was confined to one, and whose warriors were literally countless, at least by Nágá numerals.

We were then asked to perform a few miracles, in a general way, with which we immediately complied, firing our revolvers into a large tree stem close by. My friend led off steadily, and when I began he reloaded and kept it up and put five more from my revolving carbine. This was a good beginning, and there was a great deal of wind expended over it in 'wah-wahing:' it was considered awful. He then drew fire from heaven, or rather the sun, through a lens of the binoculars. And no amount of persuasion would induce a Nágá to hold his hand under the focus. Matches were enquired after, and seemed to yield endless jabbering, when struck. I happened to strike one on my waistbelt having nothing hard enough near, and I afterwards heard that they thought I lit it by simply touching my skin, and that my deotá must be a "knowing devil." A magnet attracting or repelling a needle, even from underneath the paper it lay on, was 'dawáí,' medicine, and seemed to astonish less than I had expected.

An inspection of the house was then suggested, and it seems the correct thing to sit in audience for a time at one end and then walk through to the other, letting off a few polite ejaculations *en route.*

The house must have been 200 feet by 50 at least, though perhaps in the centre not over 30 feet high, from the floor. Like most of them, it was built two-thirds on the rock, and one-third continued out level by a chang, where the ground fell considerably, and supported on posts. This last is the audience end, and had in this case no gable wall, the roofing being semi-circular, so as to keep out wet. For the first 50 or 60 feet where the floor rested on posts, it was like a huge barn inside, and had no partitions, the large Jack posts shewing well in three rows, one down the centre, and one each side at about 15 feet. Some of the Marolis, or horizontal beams, (*wall plates* of the builder) were enormous, fully a foot or a foot and a half thick at the but end,

and some 50 to 60 feet long. How they were ever raised to their places, let alone up such a hill, was a mystery to us, though we were told that men lifted them on their shoulders. On the right hand wall were hung bones and skulls of pig, deer, mitton, buffalo, &c. About 50 or 60 lower jaws of the boar, made a fine display, all hung in a row, some huge tusks among them—evidently all hung as trophies of "feasting."

The central portion of the house through which we next passed, appeared to have a series of cattle pens on each side of a central passage, the floor being rock, it was dark as pitch, and by no means fresh. From the tittering and whispering we heard as we passed or stumbled through, we concluded it was the realms of bliss, and after a hundred feet of it, we came out into another large room or hall, dedicated to dhán husking and pounding, the huge úral, cut out of a solid tree, being placed lengthwise and having places for about forty people to pound at once; the floor was also covered with husks. Here also we saw a small bamboo quad, for refractory youths.

On returning to the audience end, we were told that the Rájah was ready to receive his presents, "as most of the Khunsais and Hundekais had gone." So we made our men produce what we had brought, having been previously told by our own people, that we must expect them to be dissatisfied, but not to mind it. We had a large purple cloth with broad silver lace for the Rájah, a scarlet shirt, clasp knives, a red blanket, and Rs. 20 in cash. The others came in for similar things of less value, but which were reduced by their being six brothers instead of two as we had expected.

No end of palaver followed, and as we had been warned, they wanted more. The Rájah, it seems, had set his heart on a gun. This we assured him was very strictly prohibited, and that we of course dare not give one, and this I had often told them, but no attention was paid to our remark, the way they urged it shewed how little they understand us. One of the oldest Sowdongs who has seen three Rájahs, a man I knew well and who understands me better than most Nágás do, got up and made a long speech in Asamese, reiterating all the arguments, and eventually proposing seriously, that I should write direct to the 'Mahárání', and explain clearly, that it was for the Rájah of Banpara, and she would at once acceed to the proposition. This was hailed by all as a coup de grace for us, and the general buzz as he sat down clearly proved he had brought down the House. To this we had to answer, that if guns were granted to one Rájah, all would claim them, and some were, as he knew, very insignificant, so that we knew no exception would be allowed. A revolver was next tried for, but we said that they were very complicated, often going off when least expected, and killing those dearest, as well as nearest. I was then offered a slave, if I would yield the gun question, and I understood, a slave for life; but this we had to shake our heads over, and look serious.

The palaver continuing we retired to where a part of the hall had been partitioned off for us by mat walls, under cover of a remark we heard that if there was much talk, a Sáhib's head ached. We now enjoyed a little peace, a biscuit, and a cigar, in more privacy. A deputation soon after came in to urge the gun case, but we ordered them out, in a mixed dialect, saying that Sáhibs were not in the habit of paying taxes this way, and if they only wanted our presents, we should return at once. This had the desired effect. A procession now came up the house, headed by a Khónsai and the Rájah's brother, the former beating a little gong, which was laid before us as the present from his Royal Highness, together with a couple of young goats; but we had been so worried, that we told our people privately, if possible, to forget them when coming away.

A visit to the houses of the chief brothers was next suggested, and we started off on a tour. They were all much alike, though smaller than the first: an audience end, open and with trophies of the chase and poison, then a series of the cattle pens as before mentioned, on each side of a dark passage, and a room at the other end for dhân-husking with its úral. The floor in all rose as we went on, the first portion being a chang raised on posts, and matted. We saw here some Abor women or girls, wives of the owners, one of whom, we were told, had cost five buffaloes, and was the daughter of an Abor Rájah. They seemed far more sprightly and intelligent and good looking than Nágánís, and could, we thought, understand us far better too; whether they were exceptional cases, I cannot say. They wore the hair in a long queue, tied up with beads and wire, and in many cases it was long, not cropped at all, as is common among Nágánís. Costume as usual was at a discount, and as is often said "a pocket handkerchief would make four suits;" yet with all this, I doubt if we could beat them in either real modesty or morals, and this applies to Nágánís too.

The Morrang (dead house), or place where the skulls taken in their wars are put, was next visited. It also contained the great drum cut out of a tree stem and hollowed like a boat. I had reason to think that they might have scruples to take us in, and as I had often tried to get a skull, I did not shew my interest in it outwardly. Roughly estimated, there were about 350 skulls. About half of them hung up by a string through a hole in the crown and in the open gable end, the other half lying in a heap on the ground. No lower jaws to be seen, nor hands and feet, as I had expected. The latter are always cut off with the head when a man is killed, and confer another kind of 'ák' or decoration. None seemed fractured by a dháo, and a large number were of young people, or children, being small and smooth.

We were conscious of being face to face with the great cause of this tribal isolation, constant warfare, evidently a custom of great antiquity.

As long as social position depends on tattooing as here, and can only be got by bringing in the head of an enemy, so long shall we have these wars and consequent isolation of clans. The man who brings in a head is no longer called a boy or woman, and can assist in councils of state, so called. And he seldom goes out on a raid again, I hear. The head he brings, is handed to the Rájah, who confers the 'ák,' or right of decoration by tattoo, at which there is great feasting, and pigs, cows, or even buffaloes are killed, and no end of 'moád,' or fermented rice water, is drunk. Those who are not tattooed, when old enough, make a party and lie in wait for stragglers, men, women, or children, anybody in fact with a head on him; and as cover is plentiful, they can get on the enemy's land and lie in ambush along side his paths; never breaking cover unless certain of success and getting clear off. All those who get heads, get the ák on the face; those who get hands and feet, get marks accordingly; for the former on the arms, for the latter on the legs. No two tribes, however, have the marks alike, and some even do not tattoo the face.

The worst of this kind of warfare is that women and children are as often killed as men, and without any compunction. I had a smart little fellow here at work for a long time, named 'Allee,' (four) and once asked him how he got his ák. He said he went out and lay in wait a long time near a spring, and at last a woman came for water, and he crept up behind her, and chopped her on the head, and then cut it off, and got off himself as quickly and quietly as he could. It was utterly incomprehensible to him how such a thing could be unmanly, I found it waste of time and breath trying to convince him.

Besides the skulls, the Morrang also contains the big drum which is nothing more than a "dug-out." It is beaten by short heavy sticks, and can be heard a great distance. The drum from the Múton Chang can be heard here, at least six or seven miles in a direct line. Some are made of a hollow tree with the inside gradually burned out, and open at the ends, some 20 feet long by 3 to 4 in diameter.

From here we went back to the Rájah's house, and heard an alarm of fire, which, from the general excitement, seems to be rather dreaded. On the chang we had a good wash, water being poured out of bamboos. It is here also rather scarce, and I dare say they considered it woeful waste to use it for such a purpose.

Our dinner was now ready, and as it was getting dusk, we went into our apartment, not, however to dine in private, as we had hoped. Our mat wall contained too many loopholes, to be resisted by feminine curiosity, and an audience of thirty or forty had to be submitted to, whose exclamations at every new phase in our proceedings gave us proof of our being among many people who had never before seen a white face. I have no doubt that the *modus*

operandi was to them mysterious in the extreme; our candles, tumblers, knives, forks, and spoons, were as good as news in a foreign tongue.

It being now dark, we made preparations to let off a couple of rockets, which I had brought, as a final exhibition. A good site was selected where they could fly over an uninhabited precipice, and yet be seen by the whole village. A bamboo tube guide was soon placed and the fuse lit, after placing the Rájah's party where it could be well seen. The fuse, however, went out and had to be re-lit, when the rocket flew off beautifully, just in the direction I had wished. A gun had been fired to warn the pykes to be on the look out, and we heard a hum of exclamations at once. After about five minutes, I fired the other and it flew, if anything, higher than the first, and burst well, the stars coming out well too, a piece of the case kept burning just long enough to let them see their value. It was evident, they were in mortal dread, as they told us that they were all very sleepy. I afterwards heard that the rockets were looked on as two devils, which I do not wonder at. As a "peace-offering" they were very valuable, I have no doubt. Our audience had to be turned away at last, as they shewed signs of staying by us all night, and we went to sleep. We were disturbed about two or three hours after, by a torch being thrust in, and found we were being 'interviewed' by some fresh arrivals from another chang. To this we responded in Anglo-Saxon and Asamese adjectives, and had them bundled out, and got peace at last.

On the 1st June, we were awoke by the old Sowdong calling out to us that if we slept after the sun was up, we should be ill, which must be a Nágá proverb. The view to the east, as the sun rose behind Deoparbat, was magnificent. The bottom of the valleys filled with white mist, the mountain shadows crossing in great blue bars, an isolated peak rising here and there clear like an island wooded to the top. We were ready to start, and were advised to start soon, as the sun would be hot. We bade adieu to the Rájah in pantomime fashion, to which he responded, and then went away, each provided with a staff that saved us many a slip.

The walk did us good, and we got to the Sissa at 8 o'clock, a distance of about five or six miles, and sat down for a short time, to see if our men would come up. I went a little way up stream to a picturesque bend where the water rushed on each side over large boulders in the bed, making a great noise. The cliff on the other side was a sheer precipice of sandstone strongly laminated, dip to south 85° to 90°. Here we watched some girls gathering stones about the size of oranges used in preparing rice.

Finding our men did not soon come up, we started on through the Erra back towards the Longhong path, the sun being fearfully hot, and several times we had to rest, there being no shelter. On gaining the Longhong road, we sat down and found the Nágánís close at our heels though carrying heavy loads. We here remarked for the first time the peculiar noise like a whistle or

note on a flute, clear and plain and seeming to come from the chest, made by Nágánís when carrying loads and distressed. The men told us that they always did so, when fatigued and out of breath. Subsequently we heard the same noise or note, and found it was made by an old Nágání, who carried a maund of rice and seemed half dead, though a muscular old lady.

We now selected a hut among the dhán in which to rest and enjoy the view till our men came up. It certainly was a magnificent view, and I could see a white speck on the horizon towards Síbságar that may have been the Rongghar or Ghargáon.

We were highly amused at the Húlúks, or long-armed apes. They hallooed, the chorus being led off by one giving two distinct whistles; he then stopped and the chorus rose to a climax and fell off again; after a pause the two distinct whistles were repeated, and the chorus at once broke out again. In no instance did they ever begin without the "que." Subsequently I found that I could start them by using a railway whistle, which I use to attract deer on moonlight nights. I do not know, by the way, if the fact is known, that on hearing loud whistling (during October and November, at least) deer will charge. I once shot a large Sambre doe, as large as a pony, skin 9 feet from the nose to tip of tail; on my whistling loud, it charged out of the jungle into the open and, on repeating the whistle, charged straight at us, when I knocked it over at twenty yards. Eight men could hardly carry it in. The fact is well known here, but I do not know if naturalists are aware of it.

While resting in the hut and admiring the view, some Nágás and Nágánís came up en route to see the elephants. We therefore accompanied them and soon got to the Sissa where the elephants were located and found all ready to start. Many people had come to stare at the tame elephants, and to fish. We were admiring the surroundings, and watched the women catching fish by hand, when a man came to say that our muharrir had had some difficulty in getting our loads carried down, and that after starting one man had run away, though close to the chang, and he had to return and get another. Our loads were thus so delayed, that we determined to push on home, where we arrived about 5 P. M., earlier than we had expected, as the distance must be 20 to 24 miles; but we were not so fatigued after all.

The muharrir came in after dark, very much disgusted at the trick they had served him. The influence of the Rájah seems less than might be expected and the liberty of the subject at its maximum.

We could not help speculating, during our trip, on the effect of introducing some good seeds, as the potatoe, which would no doubt grow here luxuriantly. From internal evidence, the population seems to have been stationary for a long period, perhaps centuries. The checks are all positive, too, such as constant warfare and the want of food, inducing disease,

&c.* The trouble, time, and labour expended in raising their crop of hill rice, or their Koní dhán†, if sunk in potatoes or wheat, would yield them four or six fold, and enough to supply the plains with the former, as in the Khassia Hills. Whether it is politic to render them wholly independent while they have such vague ideas regarding their relationship to us, I cannot say. A peace policy till we get a railway, would seem the best for us planters, unless extraordinary vigour was shewn. A glance at the map, and a knowledge of what they have done, would shew at once that they could nearly annihilate tea south of the Brahmáputra, by a system of night raids, for which they are famous. The present almost deserted state of this portion of the Síbságar district, between the Dík'ho and Díling and south of the Dhodúr Álí, is a standing proof of what they did forty years ago, "committing such devastation," according to Robinson, "as to force the ryots to remove from the neighbourhood, and stop all communication by the roads." And there are men living who remember this tract as a vast village, or a series of villages. The destruction was done by Nágás, Burmese, and Singphús.

Not only during our trip, but both before and after, the question of our present mutual relationship pressed on our notice. It is not a bad habit, especially in a country like this, which we have recently invaded, to get the "oldest inhabitant" in any locality, and enquire. Thus we here heard among others, that there never was, in the old days, a fixed boundary to the province here, and not only did the Nágás give regular tribute in kind to the Asamese Rájahs, but the so-called Abors as well. There were both Nágá and Abor 'Sokeals,' or Official Interpreters, and the Abor tribes had access to the plains through certain routes, now closed to them. I see also, by referring to Robinson's Asam, p. 384, that the Nágás about here are reported to have paid allegiance to the Rájahs of Asám, and again so at bottom of p. 386. As far as I can see, the tribes about here now forget this, and consider themselves *de facto* free, and any attempt on our part to remind them of their former allegiance by active measures, such as taxation or surveys, would lead to serious complications and to a

* We did not see the places where they cultivate their kachchús, and garden produce, called "Erra;" but I have since seen some clearances of this kind, at the Nágá village near Borhát on the Desang and Dhodar Álí. The land was carefully enclosed by a fence made of the boughs of the trees felled inside the clearance, not piled carelessly, but built up so as to be wholly impassable and impervious to pigs. Inside, I found kachchús, chillies, yams, and also mint, cotton, and plants which I did not know. The ground was carefully weeded, and paths led though it, and small 'tongís,' or huts on posts, were erected here and there to serve for watching at night.

I found many opium-eaters at this village, even among the lads. They are Mohongias.

† Koní, dhán, and sowl.

combined action on their part. What we have most to fear is their incredible ignorance: hemmed in and stationary themselves, they cannot comprehend our having other troops than what they see at Dibrogarh, and laugh to scorn any idea of our being able to cope with them. Like an enraged child with a knife, they may inflict some severe cuts before the knife is taken from them.

The question of population of course occupied our attention, and is one difficult of solution. This tribe consists of four villages, and the mean of several Asamese and Nágá estimates of the number of houses was as follows:

Banpara,	300	houses.
Longhong,	200	"
U'nú,	350	"
Nokrong,	50	"
Or a total for the tribe of	900	houses.

I am inclined, however, to think it far above the truth, and that 600 houses is nearer the mark, and that the able-bodied men are about 1,000 to 1,200, or two to a house.

The Joboka Nágás have five villages, *i. e.* Joboka, Kamlung, Bor U'tú, Hárú U'tú, and Longting, and an Asamese estimate gives the following numbers:—

Joboka,	500
Kamlung,	400
Bor U'tú,	400
Húrú U'tú,	300
Longting,	200
Total	1800 houses.

This also, I think, is over-estimated, and 1000 to 1,200 will be nearer the truth. This would give, say 2,000 able-bodied men.

The Mútons have four villages, *i. e.*, Bor Múton, Húrú Mútons, Kulun Mútons, and Naugáon, (I may add that it was called 'new village' at least sixty years ago). Whether these are really separate tribes or simply different villages of one, I cannot say. A Rájah is at each, but they never go to war with one another, but fight on the contrary together, I believe, against any enemy. Their ák also is the same.

Of the Bor Duárias, Pání Duárias, and Námsangias, I cannot give an estimate, but I think that they have not less than 1000 to 2000 houses, each tribe.

Some of the Abor tribes again are very small and consist of but one village, and that a small one; as the village and tribe of Bánhsang (Bamboo-chang). With a powerful telescope, which I had for a short time here, I could make out changs on many peaks, far in the distance to the south, of whom neither the Asamese nor the Nágás had any knowledge whatever, and no name but Abor, and I regretted not having a good telescope with me when on my trip, as we could have seen changs away in several directions, not to be seen from the plains.

Between the Desang on the east and the Dík'ho there are as many as 8 or 10 tribes having a frontage to Asám. From Desang to Luffry alone, only 35 miles, there are six tribes, *i. e.*, Bor Duárias, Mútons, Banparas, Jobokas, Sanglors, and Lakmas, and this gives but six miles average frontage. They do not extend far into the hills, so that each may safely be said to occupy about 40 or 50 square miles. In some cases a tribe is more extensively placed; but again in others, as Sinyong, the entire tribe consists of but one village. I know of no cases where one tribe has conquered, and become possessed of the lands of another; hence the *status quo* seems of long continuance. The oldest 'Nogáons,' or new villages, are not less seemingly than 40 or 50 years.

As a consequence of the above noted custom of head-cutting, and its isolating influence, few Nágás reach the plains, but those living on the border. We thus see a community of some hundreds perched on a hill, and depending almost exclusively on their own resources, constantly fighting others similarly isolated, on all sides, yet thoroughly able to maintain themselves. Perhaps in no other part of the world can so complete a tribal isolation be seen, and subdivision carried to such an extreme. The available land, too, seems all taken up. To every 40 or 50 square miles there are about four villages, of perhaps one hundred families each; yet from the nature of the case, as before stated, not more than an eighth or tenth of the land available can be cultivated at one time, and the population would seem to have reached its maximum.

I am aware that in some places there are hills and ranges said to be uninhabited, but I know of no such places here, except the peaks and ridges of the highest hills, 5,000 feet high, or more. All the other hills, as far as the telescope can penetrate, shew signs of recent or previous cultivation. But not even the names of the tribes are known, let alone the villages. Indeed, I have lately detected large villages where all Nágás insisted that there were none.

The raids and isolated murders for which this large tract of country is so celebrated, have one feature in common, *viz.*, surprise. Cover is so universal, and favourable to the attack, that advantage is invariably taken of it until the last moment. As a rule, when a whole tribe is at war, the

cause is a general one. One Rájah or tribe has been grossly insulted by another. In such cases a chang may be surprised and burnt by a combination of several villages. In other cases a single village of one tribe is at war with another village of a different tribe, without involving the other villages in hostilities. Bor Múton may be at war with Únú, and not involve Kúlúns or Longhong. Or again what is a common form, the young and untattooed men of three or four villages of say two distinct tribes may combine and, headed by a few older men, quietly traverse the jungles to a more distant tribe and village and, suddenly attack the people in their cultivation, the object being simply heads.

Returning to the Banparas, I may say that with regard to weapons, they use, like most Nágás, the 'jattie,' or spear, and the 'dháo.' They also use the cross-bow.* I see that Robinson lays great stress on their not having bows and arrows; he considers its total disuse a very singular circumstance, and draws rather weighty conclusions from it. It is not, I hear, of recent date. In the use of the jattee they seem clumsy and bad shots; I have tried batches of several tribes at a mark for prizes, but found them unable to reach 80 yards. Nor could they touch a sack of straw for half an hour at 60 yards (where I volunteered to go and be shot at), but at 40 yards one did succeed.

Captain Norton says in his book on 'Projectiles,' that he could once throw a spear 170 yards, and saw the wife of an Australian chief throw one 120 yards; hence the Nágás do not seem very formidable on this score. They use their jatties for close work, usually from ambush, and never attack in the open.

The dháo is used as a hatchet or mace, and held by both hands. One blow is usually enough, if fairly given in a fight, as they can cut with tremendous force. The jungle is so thick and common, that their warfare is wholly by ambush and surprise, and this gives the dháo great advantages.

The bow is chiefly used for game and pigs.

They have a shield, or 'phor,' made of buffalo or boar skin, and often ornamented by goat's hair dyed scarlet, or by cowries. It figures in their war dances, but I suspect is not much used elsewhere, unless in a premeditated onslaught.

Like most savages, the Nágá seems to aim at making himself look as hideous as possible, and their decorations at times of festivity have solely that object. Their head gear seems generally to have some bunches of hair fastened to long light stems so as to jerk about while moving. It is the hair of the man or woman who has been killed, and in all cases, I think, is human hair, if not of an enemy. But there seems no one particular head gear which

* 'Hap' in Nágá.

all adopt; on the contrary, there is infinite variety; any one who can dress or look more hideous than his neighbour, is at perfect liberty to do so.

The chiefs often wear a long dark blue coat like a dressing-gown not tied, that contrasts strongly with their usually nude condition. Asamese cloths are also bought, and worn by the Nágás who can afford the luxury, during the cold season, but those who cannot, wear the little scrap commonly seen at all times and about the size of foolscap. Women wear an equally scanty morsel, which in some tribes, I hear, is even dispensed with. Pewter, or red cane, bracelets or armlets are considered of far greater value and moment. As far as we could see, the women wear no head gear at all, and about half have the hair cropped short.

The bunches of hair and feathers on the topís are all usually mounted on thin slips of buffalo horn, exactly like whale bones.

Of trade there is little or none. With the exception of the salt mines or springs eastward, and some pán and kachchús brought in exchange for rice, there is no such thing as trade. The tribes are too poor to be able to trade, and the constant state of warfare renders commerce impossible. On concluding a peace, some dháos and Abor cloths change hands, or a mitton; but as a rule the border tribes act as a most effectual barrier to all attempts at commercial transactions with those beyond.

It may be worth noting that the border tribes have now lost the art of weaving or very nearly so, as the little scraps of cloth they require, are procured in Asám; while the Abors are able to weave very pretty, though coarse, pieces of party coloured cloth, as they cannot trade with Asám.

If it were possible to open broad, neutral avenues among these hills, to allow the remoter hill tribes a chance of getting into the plains, it would benefit all parties and injure none, and the Abors* would thus be our native allies. I may here mention that, even in the rains, five hours' dry weather after a week's rain leaves communications as they were before the rain. The water runs off as it falls, while in Asám we should have a month's 'boka,' or mud.

Both physically and linguistically, there is a good deal of difference in the tribes bordering each other. The Nágá vocabulary compiled by Mr. Bronson at Jaipúr in 1840, is of no use here, but sixteen miles west, though some words are known; but the numerals are different, and they here only count to ten.

* I have carefully enquired both among Asamese and Nágás regarding the Abors, whether they have a wish to visit the plains, and all without exception say, they are extremely anxious to do so. This of course is to be expected, as some of their most valuable articles, as iron, comes from Asám, though in small quantities and in shape of dháos. Asám to them is like a goal, always is sight, but never to be reached. They live in sight of the plains, at not more than a day's journey. They are born, live, and die, longing to cross a narrow strip of land, but cannot.

When once with a number of Banparas on the road, a large party of Nágás passed, and as neither party spoke, I asked who they were. I was pointed out their hill, and on asking why they did not speak, they said they would not understand one another. This I thought a good opportunity to try them, and told them to call them in Nágá and ask who they were. On being called to, they all turned round, and stopped, but said nothing; I then made them call again; but to no purpose, the other party simply jabbered together in twos and threes, and on calling them a third time as to where they were going, they shouted out a lot of Nágá which my fellows could not make out. Both parties passed on, unable to exchange a word, though living within a few miles of each other. A few words did pass, but they were Asamese. I asked how they knew the men, and they said "by their ák," or tattoo marks. There is more lingual variation among the remote tribes, I believe, than those bordering Asám, as the latter frequently meet in the plains on a peaceful footing, while the Abors are shut out from all intercourse.

The physique also varies with the tribe. I can as a rule tell a Joboka man from a Banpara, and these from a Múton, or Namsangia, and Asamese. Those who are familiar with the tribes can easily do so, without seeing the ák to guide them, simply judging by their general physique and colour. Of course there are exceptional cases, such as small stunted men, or others unusually tall or well made.

Practically, the extraordinary confusion of tongues opposes a serious obstacle to the explorer, and the sooner we set to work to reduce the confusion by inducing opposite causes, the better for us and our successors, and for them and their successors. Tattooing as a decoration, or prize for committing murder, is at the bottom of it all, I fancy, and is so deeply rooted, that it may take a long time to eradicate by peaceful means.

Their religion seems confined to the fear of a legion of deotás or devils, and has no system, and their devils are of course on a par with their limited ideas. Whatever they do not understand, is the work of a 'deotá.'* Every tree, rock, or path, has its 'deo,' especially *bor* trees, and waterfalls. If a man is mad, a deo possesses him, who is propitiated by offerings of dhán, spirits, or other eatables. Deos in fact are omnipresent, and are supposed to do little else than distress human beings. The only remedy is presents and counter witchcraft. They seem to have no idea of a Supreme Being, the idea is certainly not 'innate' here. There are no regular priests, though they have 'deorís,' men whose office it is to bury or attend to the dead. Two or more such men are in each village. They tie up the corpse

* I was once asked by a Nágá to point out which of two men had robbed him of three Rupees, and to use, for the purpose, a small horse-shoe magnet I had. He was under the impression that it was capable of pointing out moral delinquencies.

in tocoo leaves, and put it on the 'rúk túás,' where it is left till sufficiently decayed when the skull is put in the Morang.

Appendix I.

Numerals used by the Banparas and neighbouring tribes.

	Banparas.	*Mohongias.**	*Namsangias.*†
1.	eta	tumchee	vanthe.
2.	annee	kinee	vangie.
3.	ajum	kahom	vanram.
4.	allee	mellee	beli.
5.	aggah	manga	banga.
6.	arruck	torrong (k ?)	irok.
7.	annutt	tenjee	ingit.
8.	atchutt	ashut	isat.
9.	akoo	akoo	ikhu.
10.	abbau	abau	ichi.

It is worth noting that the Banpara numerals all begin with *a*, except the first.

Specimen of a Naga Vocabulary.

English.	*N'*	*English.*	*Nágá.*
Above,	dingko.	Arm,	tzuk.
Abode, n.	hum.	Arrow,	sán.
Across,	árem.	Ashes,	lábú.
Afraid,	ráh.	Asleep,	gíp.
After,	pai.	Aunt,	ánichum.
Aged,	árúpa.	Awl,	janmut.
Air,	rung tez.	Axe,	vá, *or* bá.
Alike,	tavei.		
Alive,	áráng. arang.	Babe,	mánsá. náusá.
All,	pang vei.	Back, n,	tawkí.
Alone,	kúra.	Bag,	nítzung.
Amber,	násа.	Bait, n.	púsen.
Ancle,	shiádúa.	Balance, n.	túak.
Angel,	hárung.	Bamboo,	nyud.
Animal,	mai.	Bandage,	káko.
Ant,	tziktza.	Bank,	túm.
Ape,	mainak.	Barn,	kúng.

* The Mohongias, or Bor and Pání Duárias, 8 miles east.

† The Namsangias are at Jaipúr, 16 miles east.

English.	*Nágá.*	*English.*	*Nágá.*
Basket, cage,	shawkshawu.	Bowl,	kup kwaw.
Bat,	pawkpi.	Box,	shwak.
Battle,	ron.	Boy,	náusá.
Bead,	lík.	Bracelet,	kapson.
Beak,	chukin.	Branch,	punchuk.
Beam,	langpang.	Brandy,	zú.
Bean,	píásá.	Bread,	án.
Bear,	tchupp.	Breakfast,	kongsaha.
Beat,	pít.	Brick,	há.
Bee,	ná.	Bridge, large,	váloh.
Beetle,	chong.	small;	shai.
Before,	taut.	Brook,	shwása.
Bent,	kúm.	Buffalo,	lúí.
Bellows,	zetpo.	Bug,	veikoi.
Belly,	vawk.	Bull,	mai hopong.
Below,	hopong.	Bullet,	jantang.
Belt,	ropák.	Burial place,	rúktúa.
Best,	hánko.	Burn,	vun súng lei.
Betel,	kovai.	Butterfly,	pítúak.
Between,	hawtawng.		
Bird,	awe (as the English 'awe'.)	Cable,	rú.
		Calf,	maihúsá.
Bite,	chut.	Cane,	reh.
Bitter,	ká.	Cap,	kohom.
Black,	nák.	Cascade,	tí kong lei.
Blacksmith,	changlík.	Cat,	miásá.
Blanket,	ní.	Cave,	hakon.
Blind,	míkdok.	Chair,	tun tong.
Blood,	adzi.	Charcoal,	mák.
Bloom,	mei púá.	Charm,	vem.
Boar,	vakla.	Chicken,	awsá.
Boat,	quánú.	Chief (Rájah),	vang hum.
Bolster,	kungtán.	„ (subordinate),	vang sa.
Boil,	taw.	Chin,	kárá.
Bone,	opák.	Chisel,	juntúp.
Book,	tantung.	Cholera,	mízí.
Bottle,	pei (as the English 'pay').	Clearance (new), of land,	naü erra.
Bow,	háp.	Club,	punkum.

Appendix II.

The Asamese Koní Bih, or Poison Berry.

The seeds of this shrub or tree are used by the Asamese to kill and intoxicate fish in the rivers. They usually select the deep pools, after the floods have subsided, and stake both the outlet and inlet, so as to prevent the fish from escaping.

It seems that both the leaf and the bark are capable of poisoning, if used in any quantity; but they are not used, because the seed (husk and all) is far more active. Some say the husks alone are to be used.

Fresh seeds are not selected, but rather old and half rotten ones, and I hear that if they have lain on the ground, they are still better. The custom is to collect them some days before the poison is required, and steep them in water. When soft they are pounded up, seed, husk and all, with some water, care being taken to protect the face and especially the eyes. When thoroughly reduced to a pulp, the mass is allowed to stand a day or two, and is then ready to be thrown into the stream a little above the place selected to catch the fish.

About 5lbs. of seed will poison a large 'dhúbi,' and of course affect the stream a long way down. I hear that it is injurious to human beings, and stories were told me of people killed by it, but I doubt the fact. It seems universally agreed that if the seeds are kept for a long time in a pot, moistened and allowed to rot (? ferment), the poison is far more active, than if only kept a few days.

'Nágá Bih,' another poison used to intoxicate and kill fish.

The tree known by this name grows to a large size, often 2, 3 and 4 feet in girth, and 50 to 80 feet high. Unlike the Koní Bih, the seeds must be used when rather unripe, or at least not old; but all parts of the tree seem to yield the active principle, though the seeds contain most for a given weight. The poison is also most virulent if used immediately; and for this reason, I suppose, it is the juice itself that is poisonous, and not any product of fermentation, as seems the case in the first poison. A larger quantity is also required to produce the same result. It is prepared much the same way as Koní Bih, that is, pounded up with water and macerated.

The outside of the husk is covered with fine hair or down. The seed case when cut through, rapidly changes from a light yellowish white to a dark greenish black in about a minute or less.

There are also other kinds of poison called 'Lota Bih' and 'Deo Bih,' the latter not known to the Asamese, I believe, and 'Bor Bih,' which is brought down by the Mishmís.



Note on Ghargáon, Asám.—*By* J. M. Foster, F. R. G. S., *Nazeerah, Assam.*

Ghargáon, for many years the capital of the Ahom kings of Asám, is so little known, or cared for even by those acquainted with its existence, that it has been thought worth while to place a record of its appearance at the present date in the hands of those likely to appreciate such, as in all probability a few years more will see the place a heap of undistinguishable ruins, or worse still, converted into materials for building purposes. Time, neglect, the heavy rains of the country, and frequent earthquakes, have much injured this once noble pile of masonry; but strange to say, the hand of man has done but little damage so far, a few attempts to find hidden treasure by digging being the only mischief visible: the scarcity of inhabitants, the respect and awe with which it is regarded, may have served to protect it so far; but it is much to be regretted that so interesting a specimen of architecture should have been allowed to fall into such a state, that the abovementioned causes, and that curse of ancient Indian masonry, the Pípal tree, must inevitably complete its utter ruin before many years pass over.

The following extracts from "A Descriptive Account of Asam, by William Robinson, 1841" give a slight sketch of the founder and the history of the place.

P. 318. "Of the state of the district antecedent to the conquest of the Ahoms we know nothing. It was in all probability filled by an abundant Hindu population, from whom the bulk of the present inhabitants have descended. The Ahoms were for many generations confined to the tract east of the Dehing. As their power increased, their conquests extended beyond that river, on the left bank of which they founded their first capital Huluguri-nugur. About half-way between Jaipur and Dehing Mukh, extensive remains of the fortifications of the Nugur are still to be seen.'

"On the further advance of their arms, the Ahoms removed the seat of government to Ghergaon on the banks of the Dikko, which continued to be the principal residence of the princes till the prosperity of the Ahom dynasty began to fade. The royal palace at Ghergaon was surrounded by a brick wall about two miles in circumference, but the whole town and its suburbs appear to have extended over many square miles of country. The ruins of gateways built chiefly of masonry are still to be seen within the fortified circumvallations which surround the town. It may be observed that one of the gateways is composed of stone, the blocks bearing marks of iron clampings, which evidently shows that they once belonged to far more ancient

edifices. From this evidence alone, were there no other, it might safely be presumed that, long antecedent to the conquests of the Ahoms, the country had been possessed by a race of inhabitants far advanced in some of the arts civilized life."

Ghargáon was for certain reasons subsequently abandoned, and Rangpúr, situated lower down the river and on its left bank, was fixed upon as the capital. In the troubled reign of Gorinát'h (1780 to 95), Rangpúr was abandoned for Jorhát, but even here, the Rájah was not safe, and he fled for refuge to Gauháti. On Gorínát'h's restoration, Jorhát again became the seat of government, and continued so until the conquest of the country by the British troops (1826).

P. 163. "On the death of Sarga Naraiyan, A. D. 1539, Chuckenmung succeeded to the throne, (he is said to have instigated the assassination of the preceding Raja Chuhummung or Dihinaja Raja, or Sarga Naraiyan). He is said to have built the town and fort of Gargaun, or Ghergong. He reigned thirteen years and was succeeded by his son Chuckampha. Nothing remarkable is recorded of him except that he enjoyed the throne for fifty-nine years in comparative peace and comfort."

P. 165. "In 1654, Chutumla succeeded his father Churumpha who was deposed and put in prison for imbecility. Soon after his accession, he adopted the Hindu faith and assumed the name Jaiyadhajia Singh. At the latter end of his reign, in 1661, the valley was invaded by Mir Jumla, the Subadar of Bengal, who sent up his stores and provisions in boats, but crossing the Bhramaputra at Rangamati, marched his army by land. The march was tedious and on its progress the army was greatly annoyed by the Assamese. This added to the fatigue of dragging the boats, greatly affected the troops. The Subadar at length reached the capital Ghergaon, which, after a severe conflict, he succeeded in taking, and the Raja was obliged to take refuge in the mountains. The rains of 1662 set in with great violence, and the Raja issued from his place of concealment in the mountains and cut off the provisions of the Moguls. A pestilence also broke out in the camp which carried off many, whether they returned or remained they were equally exposed to death: in this miserable state they passed the rains, but no sooner was the country dry, than, according to the Musalman historians, they took courage and bravely repelled the enemy. The Raja is said to have solicited peace, which Mir Jumla was happy to grant, for he was himself attacked by disease and his troops were mutinous. The same accounts state that the Assamese were obliged to give 20,000 tolahs of gold, 100,000 of silver, and 40 elephants; and the Raja gave up his daughter to be married to one of the Muhammadan princes, and agreed to pay an annual tribute. The native annals on the contrary inform us that Mir Jumla's army was entirely defeated, and he was obliged to give up the whole of the

zillah Kamrup to the Assamese, which was from that time placed under the management of a great Assamese officer, the Barphukan, and formed a government equal to about a third of the whole kingdom. Jaiyadhajia Singh died in 1663.

"He was succeeded by Chupungmung who was assassinated in 1672. The latter was succeeded by his younger brother Suckhumpha who was secretly poisoned two years after at the instigation of the Bar Baruwa, who assumed a great degree of authority, although he had installed Sulung, the young prince of Samaguriya. The Queen objecting to the Bar Baruwa's usurpation, laid a plot for destroying him which he discovered, and despatched the king with his own hands, whilst his myrmidons assassinated the Queen and members of the Council. The young king reigned but one month and fifteen days. The Bar Baruwa next raised Teenkungiya to the throne; but the officers of Gowhatty with a body of troops proceeded to the metropolis, secured the Bar Baruwa, beheaded him and strangled the new Raja after a reign of twenty days. Chujinpha was then placed on the throne, who committed suicide in 1677. In 1699, Chuckungpha founded the city and fort of Rungpur (Sibsagor), and caused the extensive tank to be made which still bears his name. In 1770, the Moamariahs captured Ghergaon, but it was recaptured five months later by the adherents of Luckmi Singh, who died in 1780. The Moamariahs, in 1784, after some tremendous battles again captured the place, and the king, Chuhitpungpha escaped to Gowhatti: after many changes of various kinds, the British Government sent a detachment to aid them in 1792, under Captain Welsh, who successfully put down the Moamariah insurrection." The Burmese invasion, a matter of modern history, was finally suppressed by the British troops at Rungpur in 1825; since that date, the authority of the Assam Rajas has been at an end."

Another version, by a contemporary, of the invasion of Assam is to be found in an old work entitled, 'Particular Events, or the most Considerable Passages after the War of Five Years or thereabout, in the Empire of the Great Mogul,' Tom. II. By Mons. F. Bernier, London, 1671.'

P. 110. "Aurengzebe too well knowing that a great Captain cannot be long at rest, and that, if he be not employed in a Forreign War, he will at length raise a Domestick one; proposed to him to make War upon that rich and potent Raja of Acham, whose Territories are on the North of Dake, upon the Gulf of Bengala. The Emir, who in all appearance had already designed the same thing of himself, and who believed, that the Conquest of this Country would make way for his Immortal Honour, and be an occasion of carrying his Arms as far as China, declared himself ready for this Enterprize. He embarked at Dake with a puissant Army, upon a River which comes from those parts; upon which having gone about a hundred leagues North Eastward, he arrived at a Castle called Azo [Hájo], which the Rajah of

Acham had usurped from the Kingdom of Bengala, and possessed for many years. He attacked this place, and took it by force in less than fifteen daies; thence marching overland towards Chamdara, which is the Inlet into the Country of that Raja, he entered into it after 26 daies' journey, still Northward: There a Battel was fought, in which the Raja of Acham was worsted, and obliged to retreat to Guerguon, the Metropolis of his Kingdom, four miles distant from Chamdara. The Emir pursued him so close, that he gave him no time to fortifie himself in Guerguon; For he arrived in sight of that Town in five daies, which constrained the Raja, seeing the Emir's Army, to fly towards the Mountains of the Kingdom of Lassa, and to abandon Guerguon, which was pillaged as had been Chamdara. They found there vast riches, it being a great, very fair and Merchant-like Town, and where the women are extraordinarily beautiful. Meantime, the season of the Rains came in sooner than usually: and they being excessive in those parts, and overflowing all the Country, except such Villages as stand on raised ground, the Emir was much embarrassed. For the Raja made his people of the Mountains come down from all parts thereabout, and to carry away all the provisions of the Field, whereby the Emir's Army (as rich as t'was) before the end of the rains, fell into great streights, without being able to go forward or backward. It could not advance by reason of the Mountains very difficult to pass, and continually pester'd with great Rains: nor retreat, because of the late Rains and deep ways; the Raja having also caused the way to be digged up as far as Chamdara: So that the Emir was forced to remain in that wretched condition during the whole time of the Rain; after which when he found his Army distasted, tired out, and half starved, he was necessitated to give over the design he had of advancing, and to return the same way he was come. But this retreat was made with so much pains, and so great inconveniences, by reason of the dirt, the want of victuals, and the pursuit of the Raja falling on the Rear, that every body (but he) that had not known how to remedy the disorder of such a March, nor had the patience to be sometimes five or six hours at one passage to make the Souldiery get over it without confusion, would have utterly perished, himself, army, and all; yet he notwithstanding all these difficulties, made a shift to come back with great honour and vast riches. He designed to return thither again the next year, and to pursue his undertaking, supposing that Azo which he had fortified, and where he left a strong garrison, would be able to hold out the rest of the year against the Raja. But he no sooner arrived there, but dysentery began to rage in his army. Neither had he himself a body of steel more than the rest; he fell sick and died, whereby fortune ended the just apprehensions of Aurengzebe. I say the just apprehensions, for there was none of those that knew this great man, and the state of affairs of Industan, who did not say: "'Tis this day that Aurengzebe is king of Bengala."

In a work styled 'Tales of Shipwrecks and Adventures at Sea, London, 2nd Edit., 1852,' at page 705, under the heading, "Loss of the 'Ter Schelling,' including the various calamities of the crew, during an unfortunate voyage to Bengal in 1661," we find the following record of the progress of the Emir's army in Assam as related by some Dutch sailors who went to Ghargáon. The 'Ter Schelling' left Batavia for Bengal on the 3rd September, 1661, in company with two other vessels. On the 18th October, they sighted the coast of Bengal, parted company, got caught in a heavy storm, and struck several times on the sandbanks in the Sunderbans. They were finally wrecked, and the crew suffered great privations on the desert islands. Ultimately, eight of the crew (Charles Dobbel and seven others) left the islands in a boat, and travelled for many days, until picked up by some of the natives, who took them to a village after plundering them of all money, &c. The 'Governor' treated them kindly and forwarded them to Bolwa [Bhaluah]. The narrative will be best continued in the original text. 'The night following they arrived at Assam [?], a poor despicable place that afforded nothing. Here they sent back the three barques and hired another as far as Bolwa. At two leagues' distance from this village, their guides set them on shore, and made them walk the rest of the way. Whilst these guides went to the governor to give notice of their arrival, our adventurers bought milk and rice, which they dressed in a pot that was sent them by Moors, that spoke the Portuguese language. It was nearly ready when their guides returned, and told them they must come immediately to the prince, who sent for them. This news displeased them, for their appetites were very keen; however they took the pot, and carried it by turns to the prince's palace gate; where they eat what was in it before they entered. They were at length brought to their lodging, and, by the prince's order, served with an excellent kind of meat called *brensie* [harisah, ?], which is only seen here at great men's tables. This was such a nourishing food, that in three or four days they recovered their full strength. In a day or two after, the prince sent them word that they might go where they pleased,' the barques being ready. This being their desire they parted an hour after, and happily arrived at Decka. The factory received them very kindly, to whom our adventurers imparted their whole story.

"The governor now caused a barque to be ready to transport them to Ongueli [Húglí], where the Dutch have also a considerable factory. But an hour before the appointed time of their departure, the governor received a letter from the Great Mogul's general, in which he enjoined him to send them to him. This order they were obliged to obey, though contrary to their inclinations; for this general threatened, in case of refusal, to seize upon all the Dutch in his master's kingdom, and make them slaves. They travelled thirty days together, sometimes by land, and sometimes by sea, passing by se-

veral cities made desolate; the inhabitants of the country being wont, in time of war, to leave their houses, in order to follow the army wherever it marched.

"On the thirty-fifth day they went on board one of the vessels belonging to Nabah [the Nawáb], where they found four Englishmen, some few Portuguese, and two of their own party. From thence they went and cast anchor near the city of Renguemati.* In a short time they landed and were entertained in the army of the Great Mogul. The general, whom they saluted in his tent, seemed glad to see them, and immediately ordered a large cup of arrack, that they might drink his health. The cup was so closed that it was a difficult matter for them to open it; and therefore the general ordered it on purpose, to divert himself with their embarrassments. Every one endeavoured to open it, but to no purpose; at last one of the party finding it was made of wood, made a hole in it with the point of his knife, and being brim-full the arrack sprung out abundantly. By this means they all drank of it; and it being a very strong liquor, they were soon intoxicated.

"The next morning the General sent them three hundred rupees, and assigned them certain vessels called gouropes [غراب *ghráb*], one of which carried fourteen guns, and about fifty or sixty men. Each gourope was attended with four kosses [كوسه *kosah*], which are boats with oars, to row great vessels. There were also several great flat-bottomed boats which carried no masts, but were well furnished with guns. The greatest part of the officers were Portuguese. There were several other vessels laden only with provisions and ammunition. As soon as they were ordered to march, our adventurers sought the vessel which was assigned to them; but, in the great multitude of people, two of them unfortunately went astray, and were eight days without knowing where to betake themselves. After a long march, these two wanderers entered Kosbia [Koch Bihár], a country lying between Bengal and Azo [Hájo].

"The Great Mogul's general was at war with the king of Azo, and at this time subdued him. Our two adventurers expected a share of the plunder, but were disappointed. This was exceedingly mortifying to them; their wages, which were no more than ten crowns a month, being insufficient to maintain them, on account of the then dearness of provisions. The reason that they had no more was, because they served in the army by constraint, whereas those who served voluntarily had twenty-five crowns each per month.

"Immediately after the overthrow of the king of Azo, the general hastened to attack the countries belonging to the king of Assam; and lest the floods, which every six months overflowed the greatest part of the kingdom, should frustrate his designs, he advanced with great expedition, and arrived before that time at the place he intended.

"In the mean time our two adventurers, and the English who belonged to the army, having observed all the signs of an approaching tempest, carefully repaired their vessels. These precautions, however, were unavailing; the vessel in which were our two adventurers, not having been properly ballasted, was overturned by the currents, and four Dutchmen and twenty-four Moors perished. Both our heroes, after swimming several hours towards land, had the good fortune to be assisted by an English vessel, which took them on board. The next morning they thanked their benefactors and went to the army, where they sought an occasion of admittance to the general. As soon as he heard of the loss of the vessel, he fell into a violent passion, and commanded them to withdraw and choose what other vessel they had a mind to.

"In two days after, their admiral set sail in search of the enemy, attended by the whole fleet. Although the wind was little favourable to them, the vessel which our adventurers entered, followed on the course, and three or four hours afterwards dashed against a rock, which struck off their helm. Not long after, they discovered the enemy's fleet, consisting of six hundred sail. As soon as the enemy perceived them, they advanced, and a smart encounter ensued. They took three hundred of the enemy's vessels, the least of which carried seventy men; and of this whole number there did not escape above fifty. The three hundred vessels that escaped, unhappily cast anchor at about a quarter of a league's distance from the general, who advanced up the country with all possible expedition. Having brought near three hundred pieces of cannon, he planted them against them, and sunk the greatest part of them; the rest passed over to the other side of the river, and were pursued by the general's vessels with success.

"After this pursuit, their admiral cast anchor before the city of Lokwa, situated about six leagues from Gueragon. They were obliged to stay here about three months in consequence of the flood: as soon as the waters were sufficiently fallen, they quitted their post. Having been fifteen months in the Great Mogul's army, by the mediation of their consul, our adventurers at length obtained their discharge, and prepared for their departure. In fifteen days they came to Decka, and thence took shipping for Ongueli. Having sailed about one hundred and twenty leagues along the river, they made some stay at Cazimabahar [Qázimbázár, near Murshidábád], a place famous for silks. From thence they returned to Ongueli, where each betook himself to different employs, and it was not till 1673, that the last of our adventurers was enabled to return to his native country."

The palace of the Rájahs in Ghargáon is situated nearly in the centre of a large enclosed space about a mile from the Dík'ho river, and nine miles east of Síbságar (Rangpúr). The surrounding 'bund' is some fifteen feet broad on the top, and about eight feet high, but considerably more on the outer face where an enormous ditch exists all around, some forty feet wide and

of various depths, made probably to provide materials for the wall as well as assist in the defence of the place. The core of the bund is said to be brick, and is covered with earth, now overgrown with forest trees. Here is also another bund, (query, an outer line of defence) some four or five miles outside Ghargáon proper. There are numerous traditions respecting the enclosed land; one that none but the better families were allowed to reside within it; another story tells us that the bund was planted with dense hedges of bamboos (hence its name Báṇsgaṛh), and this enormous tract of country was used as a preserve for wild elephants; another that it was the private property of the Rájah, and that no one could exercise judicial powers within it but the Rájah himself; whilst some think, it is merely a coincidence, and this bund was simply a road (as it is in many parts at the present date) that may have been constructed before or about the time Ghargáon was adopted the capital. The Romans have the reputation of being the masters in the art of road-making, but their efforts seem small when compared with the network of enormous bunds intersecting this country in all directions, and made absolutely from mud alone, no other materials being procurable. The same neglect which has allowed the historic monuments of this country to fall into ruins, is very perceptible to any one who has the misfortune of being obliged to travel over these once magnificent roads during the wet season.

Reference is made to Chamdara in the account of Mír Jumlah's advance, by Mons. F. Bernier: this place will be seen marked about five miles from Ghargáon on the road to Síbságar, where the road cuts through the Báṇsgaṛh, and is still known by its ancient name. The gateway there, with an immense amount of fine carved stonework, has been utilized for building purposes by the Public Works Department. The road from Ghargáon to this spot is very different to the 'Rájah' roads, and seems never to have been properly repaired since dug up to annoy the enemy's troops in 1662. The city of Lokwa (Lukwah) mentioned in the sailor's narrative, is some sixteen miles from Ghargáon, on the Rájgarh: not a brick is to be seen there now, the place is at present a tea garden; a portion of Mír Jumlah's fleet must have gone up the Desang upon which Lukwah is situated, and probably a portion of the forces marched down the Rájgarh to invest Ghargáon on the east, whilst another portion of the fleet and army went of the Dík'ho, landing about where Rangpúr (Síbságar) now stands, to attack on the west; for it seems highly improbable that the whole of the forces could have gone up the Desang to attack Lukwah, when the Dík'ho route to Ghargáon was nearer, more practicable for both fleet and army, and had water communication to within gunshot of Ghargáon itself, whilst Lukwah was at least sixteen miles distant.

The stone gateway mentioned by Robinson, the guard houses, and other brick buildings in the enclosed space at Ghargáon have all disappeared since

1866; the bund is overgrown with forest; the ditch in many places filled with rank vegetation, and the enclosure itself a mass of dense jungle. The palace, as before mentioned, is rapidly crumbling away; in 1869, the north-west front consisting of two verandahs fell in, the balustrades in many places are gone, huge cracks gape in every direction, the rain finds its way from top to bottom of the building, and although the plans shew that it is of the most massive construction, it is hardly safe for a visitor to mount to the summit. Some twenty years since, it was temporarily occupied by some tea planters who are said to have made slight repairs; they are also credited with having found a sword having a silver hilt, and an ivory and gold sheath, besides other valuables.

The so-called palace itself may be described as a quadrangular pile of brickwork consisting of three stories above ground, and two subterranean ones. The surface of the soil being very soft and liable to inundations from the Dík'ho, an immense mass of boulders was placed there, upon which the palace was erected, some ten feet above the level of the surrounding country. These boulders were probably procured from Santok Mukh, about twelve miles from Ghargáon, up the river Dík'ho, that being the nearest place where they can be found. The subterranean chambers have been visited of late years, but presented nothing of interest, and at the present date are hardly accessible from fallen brickwork, &c. The building has cupolas at the angles and a terminal one at the summit in the centre; the openings on to the verandahs are generally arched, frequently cusped: all the decorations are in stucco, and although cut or carved bricks have been found in the immediate vicinity, not one is visible in or on the palace itself. This is singular, as cut bricks seem to constitute the chief ornaments of the old Asamese buildings in this district. The walls and piers are very massive, and the openings generally small. The general design seems more ornate than useful, and it is apparently as much a temple as a dwelling or palace. The bricks, or rather tiles, of which it is entirely composed (not a particle of wood or stone being perceptible) are extremely hard and frequently bear a polish, and are seldom of the same thickness and superficial measure, a fair specimen 8″ × 10″ × 1⅜″. In one verandah the ornamented stucco has fallen off in places disclosing an under layer of the same material having the same pattern but on a slightly smaller scale. The plans and photographs will give a far more correct idea of the peculiarities of the building than any written description can supply. The buildings near the palace were standing some three years since, and consisted of a large square room, said to have been a room for holding nautches in, and a long arched passage-like building of which it is impossible to conjecture the use. Remains of brickwork some three hundred yards from the palace lead to the conclusion that there might have been a brick wall surrounding it at that distance, but the dense jungle

renders it impossible to follow it up. There were several large tanks also within the enclosure, of which but one remains in good order. The remains of a bund surrounding what might have been a fruit garden has also been noticed.

A very curious tradition respecting the builder of the palace is current amongst the natives. A Bangálí architect named Gonsam was invited by the Rájah Chuckenmung to construct this palace. Wishing to obtain for his Rájah in Bengal all particulars as to the strength and population of the country, he suggested that in making the bricks they should be mixed with the white of eggs to render them harder. On Chuckenmung enquiring where such a vast number of eggs could be obtained, he intimated that if every one in Asám gave two eggs each, he would probably have sufficient for his purpose. The order was accordingly given, the eggs provided, and secretly counted by the builder. Unfortunately for him, the Rájah was quite alive to the stratagem, and when the building was completed, dismissed him and his assistants with great praise and riches. They were escorted across the river to be conveyed to Dík'ho Mukh by road (the Bor Allí); but immediately they got as far as Nazírah, they were attacked, made prisoners and beheaded on the spot, and the treasure returned to the Rájah.

The importance of this place during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries can be judged from the immense number of ruined temples, vast tanks, enormous maidáns, and the once magnificent roads and river bunds; it is now but sparsely populated, and the greater part of the country is one enormous jungle. The district is well worthy of a visit by some competent antiquarian, to rescue from oblivion archæological treasures that are now rapidly perishing from neglect and wilful destruction, and would amply repay the time and labour spent upon a thorough investigation of its many art treasures and historical monuments.

Translations of selected portions of Book I. of Chand Bardai's Epic.—By John Beames, B. C. S., M. R. A. S., *etc.*

After the severe strictures passed on my translation of the 19th book by Mr. Growse, (which, however, he subsequently retracted) I think it necessary again to point out that in a poem constructed like this, absolute accuracy of translation is impossible. The lines generally consist of a string of crude forms of nouns without any inflectional terminations, or signs of case. In languages destitute of such grammatical formations, the order of words in a sentence often supplies the requisite clue to the meaning. This is not the case with Chand. His words, if taken in the order in which they stand, often yield no meaning at all. In some cases turn the words as we may, it is not easy to make out any clear sense. The verbs when they occur do certainly exhibit some signs of tense ; thus we have the singular masculine of the preterite in *-yau*, the feminine in *-i*, the plural masculine in *-e*, the plural feminine in *-în ;* but more frequently all tenses and persons are rudely expressed by the indefinite participle in *-i*, as *kari, dekhi*, which serves alike for past, present, and future time.

There are two other difficulties. Archaic words which neither occur in the modern languages, nor can be traced to any known Sanskrit root ; and the insertion of arbitrary letters to eke out the rhythm, such as *ta*, *su*, *ha*, which have no meaning whatever.

When to all this is added the extreme difficulty of dividing the words, I think I am not asking too much from critics, if I request that they will confine themselves to politely stating that they think I am mistaken ; instead of at once taxing me with ignorance of a language which I have studied for fourteen years, and whose difficulty I appreciate as much as any one can.

I have recently learnt from a missionary at Ajmír that even the professional bards of that place admit their inability to understand more than the general drift of Chand's poems.

The secret of this loose careless archaic patois will only be discovered, when our researches into the vast and ancient language of which it represents one phase have been established on a firm footing. To that end some few of us are devoting our spare time. The following efforts at a rendering are perhaps premature, but even so they may yield some fruit of assistance to the greater task, and may even prove in some sort a guide to those who in time to come may approach the subject with a better *apparatus criticus* than we possess at present. The Latin and Greek scholars of the fifteenth century knew very little compared with those of the present day ; yet the world is not without some debt to Erasmus and Reuchlin, or even to

their learned predecessors. Put me and my contemporaries as low as you will in the scale of scholarship, yet it must be admitted that we are making a beginning, upon which the better furnished scholars of the future will perhaps be not ashamed to build.

1st Selection.—THE OPENING OF THE POEM. STANZAS 1—13.

First, Sátak metre. Oṁ !—

1. First reverently bowing, bowing, the poet adores the feet of the Gurus.

(Taking) refuge at the feet of the highest, the afforder of support,[1] the husband of the opulent Lachhi;

(Who) stands the lord of vice and of virtue, consuming the wicked, the lord of heaven, blessing with success;

(Who is as) sandalwood to the life of living beings moving on the earth, lord of all, bestower of blessings.

2. Vathúá metre.

First the very auspicious root is to be celebrated.[2]
Irrigated with the water of the truth of tradition,
Religion, (like) a fair tree with one trunk sprung up
With thrice six branches rejoicing the three worlds,
Leaves (of various) colours, leaves (like) mouths, there were[3]
Colour of flowers, and weight of fruit (it had)
Speech unfailing, princely,
Rejoicing with fragrance the sight and touch
Ásan tree of hope to the parrot (-like) poet.

3. Kavit.

First having indeed proclaimed a blessing
Having honored[4] the sacred writings, (whose) beginning (is) the Veda,
(Whose) three-fold branches, in (all) four directions
(Are) possessed of colour, and leaves (like) letters
Religion having sprouted (out through) the bark
Flowered fair in (all) four directions
Its fruit, (virtuous) deeds,[5] springing out
Immortal, dwelling amidst mortals
(Firm as) counsel of kings, (or as) the earth, the wind shakes it not
Giving to life the flavour of nectar,
The Kali (yuga) affixes no stain to it
Containing truth, wisdom, and (perpetual) freshness.

4. Kavit.

Taking possession of the earth (like) a garden plot
Irrigating it with the fullness of the Veda, as with water
Placing in it good seed[6]
Upsprung the shoot of knowledge

Combining branches of three qualities
With leaves of many names, red as earth
It flowered with good deeds, and good thoughts
Complete deliverance, union of substances
The twice-born of pure mind have experienced the flavour of perfect wisdom.
A banian tree of delight, spreading abroad virtues,
The branches of (this) excellent tree in the three worlds
Unconquered, victorious, diffusing virtues.

5. Bhujanga prayáta metre.

First be the well adorned Bhujangi[7] taken
Whose name this one, is spoken in many ways
Second, be taken the god, the lord of life
Who placed the universe by powerful spells on Seshnág.
In the four Vedas by the Brahmans the glory of Hari is spoken,
Of whose virtue, this unvirtuous world is witness.
Third, the Bhárati Vyása spake the Bhárath,
Who bore witness to the more than human charioteer.[8]
Fourth Suka deva at the feet of Parikhit
Who extolled all the kings of the race of Kuru
Fifth * *[9]
Who placed a six-fold necklace on the neck of King Nala.
Sixth Kalidasa, fair of speech, fair of wit
Whose speech is that of a poet, a master-poet fair-speaking,
Who made the pure fragrance of the mouth of Kali,
Who firmly bound the dyke of three-fold enjoyment.
Seventh, Ḍanḍa mali's charming poem
The wave of whose wit is as the stream of Gangá.
Jayadeva eighth, poet, king of poets
Who only made the song of Govinda;
Take all these poets as thy spiritual guide, Poet Chand,
Whose body is as a sacrifice inspired by Devi.
The poets who have uttered praises and excellent speech,
Of them Poet Chand has spoken highly.

6. Duha.

The speech in verse of Chand, excellent.
Hearing him utter, his wife (says)
Purifier of the body, O poet,
Uttering excellent speech.

7. Kavit.

Saith the wife to her husband.
Purifier of offspring, great poet,

Uttering spells and charms,
Like an oblation offered to Devi,
Hero of spells, very terrible,
Giving pleasure to kings by thy poetry ;
The childish sports, one by one,
Of the gods having extolled in thy poems,
Having uttered unchecked speech,
From which to me (comes) wisdom,
That word which is the visible form of Brahm,
Why should not the best of poets speak it ?

8. Kavit, Chand's speech.
To his wife (saith) the bard
Chand, muttering soft and low,
That true word of Brahm,
Purifier of (all) others itself pure,
That word which has no form,
Stroke, letter, or colour,
Unshaken, unfathomable, boundless,
Purifier of all things in the three worlds,
That word of Brahma, let me expound
The glory of the Gurus, pleasing to Saraswati,
If in the arrangement of my phrases I should succeed,
It will be pleasing to thee, O lotus-faced one !

9. Kavit, Chand's wife's speech.
Thou art the poet, the excellent bard,
Gazing on the heavens with unclouded intellect,[10]
Skilful in the arrangement of metres
Having made the song of the Peacock-youth ;[11]
The wave of thy wit is like Ganga,
Uttering speech immortal, soft
Good men hearing it are rejoiced,
(It) subdues like a spell of might.
The incarnation King Prithiraj the lord,
Who maintained the happiness of his kingdom,
Hero, chief of heroes, and all his paladins,
Of them speak a good word.[12]

10. Kavit, Chand's speech.
To her of the elephant-gait, Chand
Singing a pleasant rhyme (said),
Ravisher of the soul, tendril of enjoyment,
Possessing the fragrance of the ocean of the gods,
(Thou) of the glancing eye, in the flower of thy youth,

Beloved of my soul, giver of bliss,
Wife, free from all evil qualities,[13]
(Thou) who hast obtained the fruit of the worship of Gauri.
As many poems as there have been from first to last
Consider how endless a string (there is) of them,
The description of this matter (is in) many books,
Thus having taken in the best counsel.[14]

11. Paddhari metre.

First reverencing my first of gods
Who uttered the imperishable word OM!
Who made the Formed out of the Formless,
The will of his mind blossomed and bore fruit,
The sheen of the three qualities, inhabiting the three worlds,
Shining on gods in heaven, men on earth, serpents (in hell).
Then in the form of Brahma leaving the Brahma-egg,[15]
The lord, the essence of truth said the four Vedas,
The creator uttered them, unwritten,
Without qualities, having neither form nor line,
He who made the heaven, earth, and hell,
Yama, Brahma, Indra, the Rishis, and guardians of the worlds,
Winds, fire, clouds, ether,
Rivers, ocean, earth, mountains, and their inhabitants,
He created eighty-four lakhs of living beings
I cannot come to an end of the description of them.
He made a tendril of eighteen colours,
Of various kinds, subject to all qualities.
No one can resist his commands,
Placing the order on his head (one) bears grief in the body.
Day by day the sun-god when night turns to dawn[16]
Rises; this comes to pass by force of the lord's command.
The moon every night obedient to order
Rises in the sky, being without division,[17]
The guardians of the regions remain patiently pressed down by the earth,
Their joints do not ache though they remain firmly pressed.
He appoints to the wind its measure and the place of its going,
It neither exceeds nor falls short, makes joy to the body.
Indra's heaven, clouds, and sky (obey his) order,
He makes the rain to rain joyfully.
Firm and immoveable remains the earth (like) the glory of the lord,
It cannot shake or move for an instant in distress.
The wave rising touches the sky,

On the brink of the ocean there remains no trace of it;
Having obtained its limit, not one (wave) passes it,
It advances only so far as the lord's command (allows).
His order no one can refute,
Neither in the past, nor in the future, nor in the present.
The Veda describes Brahma as illimitable,
Filling the water and land he remains in every material object.
Then spake Vyasa eighteen Puranas.
Arranging the incarnations in various order
He describes with clear intellect every god,
He searched out all of them, he did not confound their character.
Then Valmiki, the incarnation of Ram,
Related in a book of a hundred krores (of lines) essence of truth.
* * * * 18
The mighty bear, the story of the friendly monkey
Again five poems five poets made,
Placed a light in the breasts of ignorant men,
In a few words wisdom is shown,
I might make a boast, then you would laugh.

12. Duhâ. Hearing the poem of Poet Chand,
Delighted in her mind, his wife (says),
Thou art the poet, the charming poet,
Laughing being prevented.

13. Kavit. Quoth the intelligent wife.
Thou who hast spells on thy tongue—ocean of spells
Excelling in the description of witness
Like the shining moon
Thou bestower of heavenly blessings,
Grant a gift to me, O poet!
The eighteen Purânas
Their names and quantity all;
Thou telling the tale joy (will be) to me,
Past and future existences will be purified,
The darkness of ignorance is destroyed by hearing this,
The filth of (spiritual) blindness is removed from the heart.

Whereupon Chand in a long Kavit recites the names of the Puranas and number of lines contained in each.

It is not worth translating.

Notes to 1st Selection.

1. Or "supporting the earth," if धारण be meant for धरणी, which is quite possible.

2. This line is extra-metral, and is probably meant as a note.

3. A conjectural rendering, which does not satisfy me. I can propose no better.

4. I read संपूजय. Another reading is संपजय, which seems to have arisen from an omission of the vowel by the copyist.

5. क्रम्म = कम्म.

6. This strange line I read as if for बीज सुभ लभ्य मध्य.

7. I do not know what the allusion is here.

8. These words are probably a corruption, उतपारथ सारथ being for उत्पार्थिव, more than earthly, from उत, over, and पृथिवी, earth, and सारथिन् charioteer. It is an allusion to Krishna's acting as charioteer to Arjuna in the great war.

9. I cannot understand this line.

10. Of the many senses of नाक, the one here given is the only one that will yield any meaning.

11. This seems to be an allusion to the Sanskrit poem called Kumâra Sambhava, or the "Birth of the Wargod" Kartikeya, whose emblem is the peacock. Chand may have written a paraphrase of that work, as he seems to have been well acquainted with Sanskrit literature.

12. गल्ह is still the common Panjábí for "a word." Many of these Panjábí words occur in Chand, which is natural, as he was a native of Láhor.

13. Literally, wife without the quality (निगुन *i. e.*, unqualified by)—of गरु अगुन, heavy, bad qualities.

14. I do not pretend to understand what the poet means by these four lines, which I have translated as literally as I could.

15. I read अखाण्ड चारि (for चाडि), but there is another reading अखां डवारि, which is not intelligible. ड and ड are often written for one another in the MSS.

16. रजनि भोर, literally 'dawn of night,' which would convey a different meaning to our minds.

17. कलाहीन, having no *Kalâs*, or the 16 digits into which the moon is divided.

18. This line is not intelligible, it contains some allusion to Sita's rape, but the meaning is not clear.

(To be continued.)

Koch Bihár, Koch Hájo, and Ásám, in the 16th and 17th centuries, according to the Akbarnámah, the Pádishāhnámah, and the Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.*—By* H. Blochmann, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

The beginning of Aurangzíb's reign is marked by two expeditions which led to a temporary occupation of territories beyond the frontiers of Eastern Bengal. Not only had the gradual retreat of Prince Shujá' from Akbarnagar (Rájmahall) to Dháká and Chátgánw (Chittagong) given rise to the maintenance of a large army, consisting chiefly of troops recruited by the officers themselves, which might conveniently be employed to settle several frontier disputes of long standing, to invade Rukhang (Aracan) and recover the children of the lost prince, but Aurangzíb found it also absolutely necessary to give employment to generals on whose military experience, the result of the wars of succession, he looked with unconcealed distrust. Dáúd Khán's expedition to Palámau, of which the particulars were given in last year's Journal, occupied the Bihár corps; and Mír Jumlah Mu'azzam Khán, the '*Yár i wafádár,*' or faithful friend of the throne, received orders to use his army and extend the imperial dominions in the north along the Brahmáputra, and in the south along the eastern shores of the Bay of Bengal. In the expedition to Ásám, which is related below, the furthest point to which the Mughuls advanced, is marked by the intersection of 95° Long., and 27° Lat., *i. e.*, the district north of Síbságar and Názirah (the old Ghargáon) in Upper Ásám; and in the expedition to Aracan, which was undertaken after Mír Jumlah's death, the most southern point is Rámú, or Rambú, between 21° and 22° Lat., half way between Chátgánw and Akyab. Beyond these two points the Muhammadans did not advance. We have no particulars of any expedition led by the old kings of Bengal against Aracan; Ásám was invaded about 1500 by Husain Sháh of Bengal, the scanty narrative of the expedition forming an interesting page in the description given by the Persian historian of Mír Jumlah's invasion.

The south-eastern frontier of Bengal up to the time of Aurangzíb was the Phaní (Fenny) River, Bhaluah and Nawák'hálí being the most easterly 'thánahs' of Sirkár Sunnárgáon. The Áín i Akbarí, indeed, includes Sirkár Chátgánw in Bengal; but there is no evidence that the Mughuls ever obtained a footing east of the Phaní River before the annexation of Chátgánw under Aurangzíb. The frontier then passed along the western portions of Tiparah as far as Silhat and Látú, went then westwards along the southern skirts of the Khasiah, Gáro, and the Karíbárí Hills, Hatsilah* on the left

* Rennel spells the name Hautchella, and places it opposite to Chilmárí on the right bank of the river. I cannot find the name on modern maps. Látú is spelt Láḍú in the Áín.

bank of the Brahmáputra being looked upon as a frontier town, and then along the Brahmáputra as far as the Parganah Bhetarband, at the confluence of the Sankos and the Brahmáputra rivers. From Bhetarband the frontier passed westward to Pátgáṇw and the northern portions of Sirkár Púrniah. The Morang, Koch Bihár, and the districts at the angle of the Brahmáputra lay beyond the empire.

The countries bordering on the Mughul empire in the N. E. of Bengal were Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo. The latter is called by old English travellers 'the kingdom of Azo.' The position of Koch Bihár is sufficiently known; even in the reign of Jahángír it did not extend eastward as far as the Brahmáputra. Koch Hájo almost coincides with the modern district of Gwálpárá, Lower Ásám, extending from above Hátsilah in the Karíbáṛí Hills and Parganah, on the left side of the Brahmáputra, along the bend of the river to Gwálpárá. On the right side, it commenced north of the Parganah of Bhetarband and contained the districts along the angle of the river as far as Parganah K'honṭ'hag'háṭ inclusively, with the towns of Dhobrí and Rangámáṭi. On the east Koch Hájo bordered on Kámrúp, or that part of Ásám which lies between Gwálpárá, and Gauhaṭṭí to both sides of the Brahmáputra.

The comparatively recent time of the advance of the Muhammadans in these districts explains the paucity of Muhammadan names of towns in Koch Hájo. The maps give a Parganah 'Mukrumpore,' bordering on Bhetarband, which, no doubt, is a corruption of Mukarrampúr, so called after Mukarram Khán, the conqueror of Hájo in the reign of Jahángír. The parganah Golah 'Álamganj with Rangámáṭí as chief town, where the Imperial Faujdár had his head quarters, reminds us of 'Álamgír; and on the left side of the Brahmáputra, north of Karíbáṛí, lies the Parganah Aurangábád, which also reminds us of Aurangzíb. But these few Muhammadan names refer all to localities in the immediate vicinity of the old frontier of Bengal. From the absence of Muhammadan names we may conclude that the invasions of Koch Bihár and Ásám by several Bengal kings as Husain Sháh and Sulaimán i Kararání, in the beginning and the middle of the 16th century, led to no permanent results.

Kámrúp also, for a short time under Sháhjahán, was included in the Dihlí empire, and had imperial Faujdárs whose head quarters were Gauhaṭṭí. As in other parts of Bengal, the Muhammadans established settlements of Páiks, who are defined as a sort of militia, armed with spears and shields. But the Governors of Bengal soon found that they could not trust them as a border defence; for in the Hájo and Asamese wars they generally took the side of the Ásám Rájahs.

I now proceed to collect the notes given in the works of Muhammadan Historians on Koch Bihár, Koch Hájo, and Ásám. The notes are chiefly taken from the *Akbarnámah*, the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí*, the *Pádisháhnámah*,

the *'Álamgírnámah*, and the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.* The first four works are sufficiently known; but the last mentioned work requires a few introductory remarks.

The *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah* is also called *Táríkh Fath i Áshám*, or History of the Conquest of Ásám. It was written by Ibn Muhammad Walí, or Shihábuddín Tálish, between the 4th Muharram and the 20th Shawwál, 1073, A. H., or between the 9th August, 1662, and 13th May, 1663, A. D. We know very little about the author. He was in the service of Mír Muhammad Sa'íd of Ardistán, better known to European historians under the name of Mír Jumlah, Khán Khánán and Governor of Bengal in the beginning of Aurangzíb's reign, and accompanied the general, apparently in the position of a clerk, on his expedition to Ásám in 1662, and returned with him to Bengal. His brother Muhammad Sa'íd, too, held an inferior office during the expedition. In the preface the author states that the reports which the imperial Wáqi'ahnawíses used to send to Court, were often in the opinion of Mír Jumlah defective and incorrect; hence the object of the author is to give a detailed and faithful account of the whole expedition to Ásám up to the death of Mír Jumlah, with which the book closes. The office of Wáqi'ahnawís, or writer of events, had been introduced by Akbar:* his duty was to report to Court whatever happened in the district to which he was appointed. Before the time of the Mughuls also the office existed, though reports were not so systematically forwarded, as from the time of Akbar. In the *Táríkh i Fírúzsháhí*, for instance, we find the word *baríd*, an Arabic corruption of the Latin *veredus*, used instead of 'Wáqi'ahnawís.' Dr. Fryer, who was in India from 1672 to 1681, in his most interesting 'New Account of East India and Persia' (London, 1698), calls these officers 'Public Notaries,' or 'Public Intelligencers,' and has the following remark (*loc. cit.*, p. 140).—"This cheat [he means the practice of false musters] is practised all over the Realm, notwithstanding here are Publick Notaries placed immediately by the *Mogul*, to give Notice of all Transactions; which they are sure to represent in favour of the Governors where they reside, being Fee'd by them, as well as paid by the Emperor; so that if a Defeat happen, it is extenuated; if a Victory, it is magnified to the height: Those in this Office are called *Vocanoveces.*"

On comparing the account of Shihábuddín with the shorter account of Mír Jumlah's expedition in the *'Álamgírnámah*, which contains a history of the first ten years of Aurangzíb's reign and was issued with the Emperor's permission, we find a remarkable coincidence in language and phraseology. Whole sentences, in fact occur word for word in both books; and we are led to conclude that the author of the 'Álamgírnámah either used Shihábuddín's account, or both had access to the official reports which were sent to the Emperor. I shall notice this circumstance below.

* *Vide* Áín translation, p. 258.

In point of style, Shihábuddín's work is elegant and simple. The Persian is flowing and pure, and the total absence of Indian *isti'mál*, or Indo-Persian constructions, shews that the author was a native of Persia.

The book* consists of a short preface, an introduction (*muqaddimah*) and two parts (*maqálah*). The introduction treats of the causes which led to the invasion of Koch Bihár and Ásám. The first part relates the conquest of Koch Bihár and the general condition of the country. The second part narrates the invasion of Ásám by Mír Jumlah; the occupation of the country, which lasted for fourteen months, from the 23rd Jumáda I, 1072 to the 26th Rajab, 1073; the peace which was concluded; and the return of the general to Khizrpúr near Dháká, where he died shortly after, on the 2nd Ramazán, 1073. The second part is divided into 17 chapters, of which the sixth is particularly interesting as containing a description of Ásám and the Asamese in 1662 and occasional notices of the Aboriginal tribes in Eastern and Southern Ásám.

Koch Biha'r and Koch Ha'jo (Lower A'sa'm).

The following extracts are taken from the *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, III, p. 207). "To the events of this time [beginning of the 23rd years, of Akbar's reign, A. H. 986, or A. D., 1578] belongs the arrival of the *peshkash* from Bengal and Koch Bihár. Rájah Bálgosáin, who is the Zamíndár of Koch, submitted again, and sent valuable presents from Bengal with fifty-four elephants."

This was after the total defeat of Dáúd, king of Bengal, by Khán Jahán. Áín translation, p. 330.

The following passage from the same work (III, 762) refers to the end of the 41st year of Akbar's reign, or the middle of 1005 A. H. [A. D. 1596, end].

"About this time Lachmí Naráin submitted. He is the ruler of Koch, and has 4000 horse, and 200,000 foot, 700 elephants, and 1000 ships. His country is 200 *kos* long, and from 100 to 40 *kos* broad, extending in the east to the Brahmáputra, in the north to Tibbat, in the south to G'horág'hát, and in the west to Tirhut.

"About five hundred† years ago, a woman prayed in a Mahádeo temple for a son. Her prayer was granted, and she called the son Bísá. He became the ruler of Koch Bihár. One of his descendants, or grandsons

* The Asiatic Society of Bengal has a MS. of the work, No. 425 of the Persian Catalogue. It was also printed at Calcutta, in the old Madrasah, Baiṭhak-khánah, 1st Rajab, 1265, by Masíhuddín Khán, a Munshí of the Foreign Department. The book is out of print.

† The Lucknow Edition has *fifteen*. Although I quote the Lucknow Edition of the Akbarnámah, I translate from MSS., for the text of the Lucknow Edition is worse than the worst possible MS. For *Bísá* the MSS. have *Bíbá*, *Biyá*, or *Bísbá*.

(nabírah), was Bál Gosáin, a wise ruler. He wrote a letter in praise of the Emperor and sent it with presents to Court. As he lived the life of an ascetic, he did not marry, and when he was fifty years old, he appointed Pát Kunwar, his brother's son, successor. But the Rájah's eldest brother, Shukl Gosáin desired a marriage, and in order not to offend him, Bál Gosáin assented, and had a son Lachmí Naráin. When he died and Lachmí Naráin became Rájah, Pát Kunwar rebelled. Being hard pressed by the opponent, Lachmí made his submission to the Emperor, and requested Mán Singh, the Governor of Bengal, to introduce him at Court. A meeting was arranged; Mán Singh set out from Salímnagar* and the Rájah travelled forty *kos* to meet him at Anandapúr. The meeting took place on 13th Dai. After many festivities, the Rájah wished to take Mán Singh to his capital; but Mán Singh was for some reason unwilling and politely took leave of the Rájah. The latter soon after gave him his daughter in marriage.

"As the Koch Bihár Rájahs had not personally paid their respects at the Court of the kings of Bengal, Sulaimán i Kararání had invaded Koch Bihár, but without result."

From the *Tuzuk i Jahángírí* (p. 147) we see that, in the end of 1024, ninety elephants were paraded before Jahángír, which Qásim Khán, the Governor of Bengal, had taken from Orísá, the Mugs, and Koch Bihár.

"In the beginning of 1027, or A. D. 1618, Lachmí Naráin paid his respects personally at Court in Gujrát, and presented a nazar of 500 muhurs" (*loc. cit.*, p. 220).

The following more detailed account is taken from the *Pádisháhnámah* (II, pp. 64 ff.).

Bengal in the north is bounded by two kingdoms, one of which is called Koch Hájo and the other Koch Bihár. Koch Bihár lies far away from the Brahmáputra; Koch Hájo lies on the banks of that river.

In the beginning of Jahángír's reign, Koch Hájo was ruled over by Paríchhat, and Koch Bihár by Lachmí Naráin, who was the brother of Paríchhat's grandfather. Now in the 8th year of the reign of that Emperor, when Shaikh 'Aláuddín Fathpúrí Islám Khán had been made governor of Bengal, Paríchhat was complained against by Rag'húnát'h, zamíndár of the Parganah Sosang,† whose family Paríchhat had imprisoned. Rag'húnát'h's complaints were found to be correct; and as Paríchhat had not behaved so submissively as Lachmí Naráin of Koch Bihár, Shaikh 'Aláuddín determined to annex Koch Hájo, and ordered Mukarram Khán‡ quickly to invade Hájo with 6000 horse, 10,000 to 12,000 foot, and 500 ships§. The

* Salímnagar is the name of the fort of Sherpúr Múrchah (Mymensingh).

† Sosang lies east of the Brahmáputra, between the Karíbárí and the Gáro Hills.

‡ Áín translation, p. 493.

§ سماری پیکاری.

vanguard was commanded by Kamál Khán who quickly yet cautiously marched to Hatsilah, which belongs to the Parganah Karíbárí and is the beginning of Koch Hájo, fortifying at every stage his encampment with bamboo palisades according to the system of warfare followed in these parts of the country. He then advanced on Fort Dhobrí, which lies on the [right] bank of the Brahmáputra and was garrisoned with 500 horse and 10000 foot of Paríchhat's troops, and besieged it. After a bombardment of one month, he took the fort, killing a large number of the enemies. Paríchhat now sent a vakíl from Khelah, where his residence was, to the commander, sued for peace, and offered 100 elephants, 100 Tánghans (ponies), and 20 *mans* of lignum aloes. He also promised to release Rag'húnát'h's family. Mukarram Khán and Kamál informed the Governor of Bengal of the proposals, and before the answer came back, Paríchhat had carried out the terms and sent the animals, &c. But the governor demanded the surrender both of the country and of Paríchhat's person. Hostilities were therefore resumed; but the army stayed in Fort Dhobrí till the end of the rains. A sudden attack which Paríchhat made on Dhobrí with 20 elephants, 400 horse, and 10000 foot, was with some difficulty repulsed, and the enemy withdrew in disorder towards Khelah. The imperialists now left Dhobrí and encountered Paríchhat's fleet in the Gujádhar river. In the engagement which ensued, the hostile ships were driven back, and Paríchhat was forced to retreat to Khelah. But even there he did not stay long, as he had heard that Lachmí Naráin had joined the imperialists and was about to attack him from the flank. He therefore left for Budhnagar, which lies on the Banás river,* followed by the imperialists who had passed over Khelah and reached the Banás. Unable to hold himself any longer, he now surrendered himself to the mercy of the Mughuls, and was taken, together with his elephants and riches, to Mukarram Khán. Baldeo, however, Paríchhat's brother, fled to the Sargdeo of Ásám, whose friend he was.

In this way Koch Hájo was annexed to the empire. Mukarram Khán, with the sanction of 'Aláuddín Islám Khán, appointed his brother 'Abdussalám Fathpúrí to command the garrison which was to be left at Khelah, and returned with Paríchhat as prisoner towards Dháká. Immediately before his arrival, 'Aláuddín had died, and as no successor had yet been appointed, Hoshang, 'Aláuddín's son, and Mukarram sent a report to court. Jahángír ordered Paríchhat to be sent to him. Soon after, Shaikh Qásim, 'Aláuddín's brother, who had been in charge of district Munger, was appointed governor of Bengal with the title of Muhtashim Khán. Upon entering on his office, he appointed Mukarram Khán governor of Hájo. Mukarram obeyed and remained in Hájo for a year, when, vexed at the

* The Banás flows into the Brahmáputra, right bank, opposite to Gwálpárá. The Pádisháhnámah spells wrongly پناس and دهوپری.

annoyances he had to suffer at the hands of Qásim, who certainly possessed little tact, if any, he left his post and proceeded over G'horág'hát to Court. Qásim therefore sent Sayyid Hakím, an imperial officer, and Sayyid Abú Bakr with 10 to 12000 horse and foot and 400 large ships to Hájo, and ordered them to invade Ásám. They waited in Hájo for the end of the rains, marched three or four stages into Ásám, when they were totally destroyed by the Asamese in a night attack. As this disaster was caused by the shortsightedness of Qásim Khán, he was deposed from his office as governor of Bengal.

(*Page* 68.) Ásám borders on Hájo. As the Asamese exclude foreigners, the only information regarding the country that we possess, is derived from prisoners or some of those doggish Asamese who come to Hájo as traders. It is a large country, producing elephants and lignum aloes, which is called *agar* in Hindústán, and also gold of inferior purity, which sells at half price. It borders on Khatá (Chinese Tartary). The present king [A. H. 1047, or 1637, A. D.] is called Sarg Deo, and is an infidel who keeps one thousand elephants and one hundred thousand foot. The inhabitants shave the head, and clip off beard and whiskers. They eat every land and water animal. In looks they resemble the Qaráqylpáq (?) tribe. They are very black and loathsome to far and near. The chiefs travel on elephants or country ponies; but the army consists only of foot soldiers. The fleet is large and well fitted out. The soldiers use bows and arrows and matchlocks, but do not come up in courage to our soldiers, though they are very brave in naval engagements. On the march they quickly and dexterously fortify their encampments with mud walls and bamboo palisades, and surround the whole with a ditch.

It was mentioned above that Baldeo had fled to the king of Ásám, whom he now persuaded to invade Hájo, offering his assistance under the condition that he was to be appointed governor of the province. The Ásám Rájah agreed and sent Baldeo with an army towards Hájo. Profiting by the unsettledness arising from the removal of one governor and the arrival of another, Baldeo took Durang, which was owned by several zamíndárs of that district and lies about 10 *kos* from Hájo, on the south of the Brahmáputra, and continued his aggressions by force and persuasion, so that he soon saw himself at the head of 10 to 12000 men, both Asamese and Bangális. The frontier t'hánah of the Asamese, therefore, which under the rule of Paríchhat had been far off, was now much pushed forward.

At the time of Khán Zamán, who acted as Governor of Bengal for his father Mahábat Khán, Baldeo continued his raids unopposed, and took away Parganahs Lúkí* and Bháomantí, causing not only much distress in those districts themselves, but inflicting also severe losses on the empire,

* Duár Lúkí is separated from Gwálpárá by Parganah Habrág'hát, and lies E. E. S. of Gwálpárá.

because he afforded protection to the people when the tax-gatherers came amongst them, and indirectly influenced the zamíndárs of other imperial districts to delay the customary payments.

During the governorship of Qásim Khán several chiefs had been sent to these districts with 10 to 12000 soldiers armed with shields and swords. Such soldiers are called *páiks*, and had before been in Hájo, and lived on the lands which the Bengal governors had given them as jágírs, being engaged either in cultivation or keeping up *k'hedahs* (enclosures for catching wild elephants). But as these men had been remiss in forwarding elephants, Qásim Khán called the chiefs to Dháká and imprisoned them for some time, after which he let them off on payment of a fine of 30,000 Rupees. The result was that Santosh Lashkar and Jairám Lashkár, who were the chiefs of the Páiks, fled to the Sargdeo Rájah of Ásám, who provided for them, and thus attached them to his party. Again, when Islám Khán was appointed to Bengal, Satrjít, the wicked Thánahdár of Pándú, made common cause with Baldeo, and instigated him to profit by the change of governors and push forward. Baldeo thereupon collected an army of Asamese and Kochís, left Durang, and attacked 'Abdussalám, who was in charge of Koch Hájo and had been ordered to look after the k'hedahs. 'Abdussalám reported matters to Islám Khán and asked for reinforcements.

Islám Khán, therefore, in the 9th year of Sháhjahán's reign (1st Jumáda II., 1045 to 1st Jumáda II., 1046, or A. D. 1636), sent 'Abdussalám's brother, Shaikh Muhíuddín, together with Muhammad Çálih Kambú, Mirzá Muhammad Bukhárí and other imperial Mançabdárs, as also Sayyid Zainul'ábidín, one of his own soldiers of merit, with 1000 horse, 1000 matchlockmen, partly imperial and partly belonging to his own contingent, and 10 *ghrábs* and nearly 200 *kosahs* and *jalbahs*,* all well provided and fitted out, to 'Abdussalám's assistance. An officer was at the same time ordered to hasten to G'horág'hát, and there collect boats, to convey the army and the baggage. The rainy season delayed matters, and when the forces reached G'horág'hát, the horses and the heavy baggage were left behind till the end of the rains, whilst the men proceeded in small boats upwards. Muhammad Çálih, whose *kosahs* were swift going, had a start of two days and arrived first in Hájo. At this time Satrjít, the traitor, sent a message to 'Abdussalám, stating that he had heard from spies that the Asamese intended to make a night attack on his thánah. 'Abdussalám, therefore, ordered Muhammad Çálih to accompany Satrjít and protect his thánah. After a short march, night overtook them, and Satrjít asked Muhammad Çálih to remain where they were, whilst he would go and get information about the thánah. But as next morning Satrjít had not returned, Çálih broke up, and met Satrjít half-way with his ships, who gave out that the Asamese had attacked and taken his thánah with superior forces, and he had fled to save at least the ships.

* Kinds of ships; *vide* below.

They remained for one day and one night at the place of meeting, and hearing of Zainul'ábidín's arrival, returned to Hájo. It was now resolved that 'Abdussalám should not leave Hájo; his brother Muhíuddín and Fazíl Beg, an officer of Islám Khán, who commanded 300 horse and the same number of matchlockmen of the Khán's contingent, were to garrison the thánahs in the neighbourhood of Hájo, whilst Zain ul'ábidín should push the ships as far as Sríg'hát, where Ásám begins, and try to keep the enemy at bay. Zain ul-'ábidín, therefore, and Muhammad Çálih, with imperial troops and soldiers belonging to Islám Khan's contingent, and many Zamíndárs and ships, marched forward, and met the enemy, who had advanced two *kos* beyond Pándú. The Asamese at once left the two fortified camps which they had erected, and attacked the Imperialists. After a severe fight, they were dislodged and lost five guns. Zain ul'ábidín destroyed their camps, and then marched quickly on to Sríg'hát, where the Asamese had assembled in force. Fighting was at once renewed, and in one of the engagements a *Phúkan, i. e.*, an Asamese chief and commander of ten or twelve thousand men, was killed. Five large ships, which they call *bachhárís*, and several *kosahs*, *i. e.*, ships that have one mast,* were taken. On the following day also, the Asamese lost in an engagement 300 men, 12 *bachhárís*, and 40 *kosahs*.

Islám Khán had in the meantime collected further reinforcements, and intended to take personally the command of the expedition. But on account of the great distance of Hájo from Jahángírnagar, where his presence was required, he had to give up his plan, and therefore sent his own brother Mír Zain uddín, Allah Yár Khán, Muhammad Beg Abákash, 'Abdul Wahháb, Mír Qásim Samnání, Amírah Sásán, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhárí and others, with 1500 horse, 4000 matchlockmen and bowmen of his own contingent to Hájo. Muhammad Zamán of Tahrán, who was Faujdár and Tuyúldár of Silhat, was also ordered to join the detachment. As the Páiks had, in the meantime, joined the Asamese, which deprived the Hájo and Sríg'hát corps of regular supplies, Islám Khán shipped large stores of grain and had them conveyed by twenty-five war-kosahs belonging to Ma'çúm Zamíndár,† who also took with him ammunition, weapons, and money. Khwájah Sher, Faujdár of G'horág'hát and lately appointed to the Faujdárí of Khelah, was ordered to join with his detachment Mír Husainí, a servant of the governor, who with 200 horse and 300 foot had gone to Koch Bihár to collect the *peshkash*, and then to move to Dhobrí. There they were to be joined by

* *Yakchobah, pr.* having one pole or beam, one-masted (?). On page 37, the term *kosah* was applied to such ships as are used to row war-ships.

The term *ghráb* (غراب) is looked upon by the author of the Pádisháhnámah (I, p. 431) as a Bangálí term.

† Ma'çúm Zamíndár had also served in command of ships at the conquest of Húglí, in the beginning of 1042, A. H.

Basbati (بسبتي), zamindár of Pátká and other districts (a relation of Paríchhat, who exerted himself in behalf of the Imperialists), after which they should operate together with the Hájo army.

Before the provisions came up, 'Abdussalám had hastened to Sríg'háṭ, in order to induce Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín who was stationed there, to come with him to Hájo; for the river had receded for two or three *Kos* from Fort Hájo, and mutual succour was rendered impossible. The Sayyid at first refused to come; but at the urgent request of 'Abdussalám he at last agreed, put the ships in charge of Muhammad Çálih Kambú, Satrjít, and Majlis Báyazíd, ruler of Sirkár Fathábád near Dhaká, and left several behind. No sooner had he left than the enemy with nearly 500 ships attacked at night the imperial fleet. The scoundrel Satrjít, who had been the cause of the attack, took the first opportunity to retire with his ships, and several others followed him from fear; nor would he return, when Çálih sent his sons to him to induce him to do his duty. The imperialists were defeated: Çálih was killed, Báyazíd was made prisoner, and the fleet fell into the hands of the enemies. Satrjít, moreover, on his flight, fell in with a number of ships which brought provisions to the army, and persuaded them to return.

Baldeo, thereupon, with his Asamese and Kochí troops, left Sríg'háṭ and Pándú, and marched towards Hájo, which he besieged, successfully cutting off all supplies. 'Abdussalám, Shaikh Muhíuddín, and Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín were thus forced to have recourse to sallies, during which they destroyed some of his stockades. From want of provisions, the delay of reinforcements, and the superior number of the enemies, 'Abdussalám accepted an offer of peace, and went with his brother to the hostile camp. He was, however, immediately imprisoned and sent to Ásám. Sayyid Zain ul'ábidín with the rest of the men tried bravely to force his way through the enemies; but they were all cut up.

The corps commanded by Mír Zain uddín 'Alí, Allah Yár, and Muhammad Zamán Ṭahrání had, in the mean time, left the banks of the Brahmáputra, and attacked Chandr Naráin, son of Paríchhat. Chandr Naráin had at first lived in Parganah Solmárí, which belongs to the Dak'hinkol, the district south of the Brahmáputra, on the right* banks of the river. But as most parts of the Dak'hinkol had been given to Satrjít as *tuyúl*, the latter had sent Gopínát'h, his brother's son, as thánahdár and collector to Parganah Karíbárí. The inhabitants of the Parganah, in consequence of Gopínáth's oppressions, had called Chandr Naráin; and Gopínát'h, unable to resist him, had withdrawn. Chandr Naráin had in a short time collected an army of 6 or 7000 Asamese

* We would say the *left* bank. The Persians do not look as we do to the mouth of a river in speaking of the right and left banks, but they look to the source, or *báláriyah* (بالارویه), *i. e.*, against the current.

and Kochís, and established himself at Mauza' Matlah,* which belongs to Karíbárí, where he erected a fortified camp near the Brahmáputra, at a place full of jungle. The imperialists, on the 10th Sha'bán of the 10th year [1046, A. H.], came from the Uttarkol, the left [right] bank of the Brahmáputra, and arrived in rapid marches opposite to Karíbárí. They crossed the river, and resolved next day to attack Chandr Naráin. But the latter used the respite thus afforded him, fled from Karíbárí, and retreated to Parganah Solmárí, where he had stayed before. The imperialists, next day, received the submission of the chiefs of Karíbárí, both of páiks and ryots, levelled the fortifications erected by Chandr Naráin, and cut down the jungle round about the stockades. Jalál, a relation of the zamíndár Ma'çúm, was left here with 400 matchlockmen and páiks as garrison.

The imperialists now returned across the Brahmáputra, and entered Parganah Mardangí, which belongs to the Dak'hinkol. The chief of the district had also the name of Paríchhat, and was father-in-law to Chandr Naráin. By promises and threats they succeeded in getting him to come to the camp. About the same time the zamíndár of Solmárí also, who from fear of Chandr Naráin had fled to K'honṭ'hag'háṭ, joined the imperialists. They then marched to Dhobrí, where they fell in with the traitor Satrjít and the convoy ships which he had managed to detain. As they had heard of Satrjít's treachery, and orders had in the meantime arrived from Islám Khán to seize him, they secured him and sent him on the Dháká.

This Satrjít was the son of Mukindra, zamíndár of Bosnah, which lies three stages from Dháká 'on this side.' Shaikh 'Aláuddín, when Governor [under Jahángír] of Bengal, had sent him along with the army which then invaded Hájo; and as he distinguished himself in the war, he had, after the conquest of the country and the return of the army, been appointed Thánahdár of Pándú and Gauhaṭṭí, where, chiefly through his numerous dependants, he had obtained the friendship of the Asamese, and had also, by his influence as zamindár of Bosnah, become quite intimate with the chiefs of Koch. The governors of Bengal who succeeded Shaikh 'Aláuddín, had often called him; but he made for ever excuses and neither paid his respects, nor did he send the customary *peshkash*. When, however, Islám Khán was made governor, he found that subterfuges availed nothing, and calling his son, who was in Jahángírnagar, to take his place, he paid his respects to the governor, and was ordered to join the corps under Shaikh Muhíuddín. But he was a traitor, and kept on friendly terms with the Ásám Rájah and Baldeo, Paríchhat's brother, and not only furnished them with information, but induced many zamíndárs to rebel. He now met with his deserts, and was imprisoned in Jahángírnagar and executed.

* مثله, if this be no mistake for هاتسله, Hatsilah. The initial *hé* in MSS. si written like a *mím*, and the *sín* is a mere horizontal stroke.

The unhappy fate of 'Abdussalám emboldened the Asamese and Kochís to advance with 12000 foot, 50 war-sloops, and many *kosahs* to Jogíg'hopah, which is a long hill situated opposite to the confluence of the Banás and Brahmáputra [near Gwálpárá], where, protected by dense jungle, they hoped to check the imperialists. They had erected a strong fort, and had made another opposite to it at a place called Hírahpúr, on the other side of the Brahmáputra. Jogíg'hopah was garrisoned with 3000 foot; the other portion of the army was located at Hírahpúr, whilst the fleet anchored between the two forts. The imperialists now left Dhobrí, and came to the Khánpúr River, which flows from K'honṭ'hag'haṭ into the Brahmáputra, and crossed it. Basbatí, who with the zamíndárs and the footmen was employed to cut down the jungle and prepare a road for the army, here reported that the enemies were in sight, and Zain uddín 'Alí and Allah Yár gave him 3000 matchlockmen, and told him to drive away the enemy. At the first attack, the Assamese ran away and were pursued for six *kos*. Next day, the imperialists came to Jogíg'hopah. After several fights, the enemies again withdrew, and the imperialists crossed the Banás. It was at this time that Chandr Naráin perished, and received the reward for his disloyalty. As he had been the cause of the defection of the Dak'hinkol, Muhammad Zamán was immediately sent there with 1000 horse and 4000 foot, to clear the country: if the zamíndárs submitted, they were to be sent to the army to serve; if not, they were to be killed. This Muhammad Zamán did in a short time, and the Dak'hinkol being clear of the enemy, he returned with his corps to head quarters. The whole army then marched to Chandankoṭ. On their way, they received a letter from Útam Naráin, son of Sardábar, zamíndár of Budhnagar, in which it was said that Baldeo had arrived with 3000 Kochís and Asamese in Budhnagar, and that the zamíndár, unable to oppose him, had crossed the Banás and gone to K'honṭ'hag'háṭ, from where he wished to join the imperial camp. Muhammad Zamán with a strong detachment was ordered to march against Baldeo, accompanied by Útam Naráin, who had just come and was thoroughly acquainted with the country. The principal part of the army remained at Chandankoṭ. Muhammad Zamán now crossed the Pomárí River, took a stockade which the enemy had erected on its banks, and marched upon Budhnagar. Baldeo, in the meantime, had deserted the strong encampment he had thrown up at Budhnagar, and had withdrawn to Chothrí, a zamíndárí which also belongs to Sardábar, where he erected several forts in the jungle at the foot of the hills. The imperialists, therefore, turned towards the jungles, and halted at Bishnpúr, an elevated spot near to Baldeo's encampment, in order to wait for the end of the rains and to get their war-material into order. Baldeo boldly advanced from Chot'hrí, having received from Sríg'háṭ and Pándú reinforcements which increased his army to 40,000 men, and threw up fortifications at the Kálápání River, which is 1½ *kos* dis-

tant from Bishnpúr, whilst he himself with the greater part of his army remained encamped at the distance of about a *kos*, protected by rising ground, a river difficult to cross, and dense jungle. He made several night attacks, and by throwing up palisades in front of the imperialists succeeded in reducing them to great straits. After some time, the Sarg Deo, who was at Pándú, in consequence of a letter received from Baldeo, sent his son-in-law to him with nearly 20,000 Asamese, who were ordered to march on Chandankoṭ.

As the rains had in the meantime decreased, the army of Islám left its encampment at Chandankoṭ, and marched on to Bishnpúr. Baldeo determined to do something before both hostile corps should effect a junction; and on the night between Friday and Saturday, 20th Jumáda II., of the 11th year of the present reign [*i. e.* 20th Jumáda II., 1047, or 31st October, 1637], he ordered some of his men on this side of the Kálipání to attack the imperialists at night. The result was that they carried two stockades which had not been quite finished. Next morning, Muhammad Zamán took at once the offensive, and leaving a party behind to protect his stockades, he attacked the works of the enemies. The first were immediately taken by storm, and the imperialists in pursuing the Asamese entered with them into the second line of their defences, and killed a good number. Even here the enemies gave way, and the victors had arrived at their third line of fortifications. Before noon, 15 stockades were taken, and more than 4000 Asamese killed. Several chiefs also, who held commands of about 5 to 6000 were killed, and three of them were brought in prisoners. Many guns, matchlocks, and other weapons fell into the hands of the victors. All stockades on this side of the river were burnt down. The defeated enemies fell back on Baldeo, and the imperialists thought it best to march as soon as possible on Bishnpúr.

On the 12th Rajab [21st November, 1637], the whole army was divided into three corps, and marched against Baldeo, whose position they attacked from three points. The enemies soon fled on all sides. A very large number was killed. The son-in-law of the Ásám Rájah was taken captive, and was afterwards, together with all other captives, executed. Up to the end of the day, every Asamese found in the jungles was killed. The shattered remnants of the enemies withdrew to Srígʼháṭ and Pándú, where the Rájah was with the heavy baggage and the fleet. Baldeo escaped to Durang.

After this victory, the imperial forces marched against Pándú and Srígʼháṭ, and arrived on the 24th Rajab [3rd December, 1637], near Akyah Pahárí (اکیه پهاري, ?). The commander next morning sent three detachments up the hill to take the outworks (*sarkob*); Muhammad Beg Abákash, Mír Muhammad Qásim Samnání, Sayyid Muhammad Bukhárí, and other imperial commanders, attacked the works at the foot of the hill, whilst the commander himself with Allah Yár and Muhammad Zamán followed in the rear.

The enemies commenced immediately a cannonade, which did, however, no damage whatever. The outworks on the top of the hill were taken. The imperial fleet at the same time engaged the hostile ships, and scattered them. Many Asamese were killed. Sríg'háṭ was now attacked. Allah Yár and Muhammad Zamán came up, surrounded the forts, and drove away the enemies. The sailors, in the meantime, directed all *ghrábs* and *kosahs* towards Pándú, and engaged the enemies who guarded Pándú on the other side of the river. Here also the flight soon became general, and Ma'çúm zamíndár did much damage with his ships among the enemies, many of whom threw themselves from their ships and met with their death in the waves. Nearly 500 war-sloops and 300 guns fell into the hands of the victors, and in a short time no enemy was to be seen.

The whole of Koch Hájo was thus cleared of the Asamese, and was again, as before, annexed to the empire.

The conquest was completed by the taking of Fort Kajlí, which lies on the Brahmáputra. The fort is surrounded on three sides by hills, through which a large river [the Kulang River] breaks that flows into the Brahmáputra. As it is the place where A'sám proper commences, it was held by several Asamese chiefs. A detachment was sent to Durang to hunt down Baldeo, and the fleet was ordered to sail to Kajlí. The hostile garrison fled also here; the imperialists crossed the river, and took possession of the fort. A garrison of 1000 horse, 3000 matchlockmen, 2000 páiks, and several zamíndárs, were ordered to guard the place.

Baldeo, in course of time, was reduced to great straits. He fled to Síngrí, an Asamese town between the hills and the Brahmáputra, and soon after perished miserably with his two sons.

During the next three months the whole district was pacified; the zamíndárs made their submission, and the country received a financial settlement. Gawáhaṭṭí, which had formerly been an important town, became head quarters, and the commanders remained here during the rainy season.

His Majesty [Sháhjahán], in recognition of the services of the army promoted Islám Khán, who had been a commander of 5000, 5000 horse, 3000 *duaspah sihaspah* troopers, to a command of 5000, 5000 horse, 4000 *duaspah sihaspahs*; Allah Yár Khán received an increase of 500, 200 horse, and was now a commander of 3000, 2000 horse; Muhammad Zamán was made a commander of 2000, 1800 horse; and Mír Zainuddín 'Alí, a commander of 1000, 200 horse, with the title of *Sayádat Khán.* Rahmán Yár and 'Abdul Wahháb also were promoted.

Mír Núrullah of Harát was appointed Thánahdár of Koch Hájo, with a command of 3000, 2500 horse. (*Pádisháhnámah*, II., 94).

Having completed the extracts from the *Pádisháhnámah*, I now proceed to the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.* I do not intend to give a translation of the whole book, but shall in general content myself with a detailed analysis, and a comparison with the *'Álamgírnámah*. Of the more interesting chapters and passages, however, the analysis will be found to approach a translation.

The subjugation of Koch Hájo and Kámrúp by the imperialists in 1637 appears to have been thorough. At least we have no information of new troubles having broken out till A. H. 1068, or A. D. 1658, when Sháhjahán fell sick, and the wars of succession followed. In that year, the Faujdár of Kámrúp and Hájo was Mír Luṭfullah of Shíráz. The government of Bengal had for several years been in the hands of Prince Shujá', who had now collected the whole Bengal corps to oppose his brothers. From the frontier-districts, especially, the imperial detachments appear to have been entirely withdrawn; for no sooner had the emperor's sickness become known than Bhím Naráin, Rájah of Koch Bihár, made raids into G'horág'háṭ, carrying off a great number of imperial subjects, men and women. He also sent his vazír Bhawánát'h* with an army into Kámrúp. Jaidhaj Singh also, Rájah of Ásám, thought circumstances favorable, and unwilling to allow the Kochís to recover territories which they formerly had held, he marched with a large army, accompanied by a numerous fleet, into Kámrúp. Mír Luṭfullah, seeing himself thus attacked from two sides, and having no troops to check the invaders, took his ships, and withdrew to Dháká. The Kochís again, unable to oppose the Asamese, retreated, and the whole province was at the mercy of the Ásám Rájah, who even annexed part of the Parganah Karíbáṛí, Hatsilah being as formerly their most advanced thánah.

For three years nearly did the Asamese remain in undisturbed possession of the newly annexed territory, when after the flight of Prince Shujá' to Arakan, in Ramazán of Aurangzíb's third year, [*i. e.* Ramazán, 1070, or June, 1659], KhanKhánán Mír Jumlah, governor of Bengal, occupied Jahángírnagar. It was immediately after this event, says the author of the *'Álamgírnámah*, (p. 680) that Jaidhaj Singh sent a vakíl to Mír Jumlah, stating that he had taken possession of the imperial lands for no other reasons but to keep out the Kochís; he was now prepared to hand them again over to any officer whom the governor might send to him. The statement found favor; Mír Jumlah rewarded the vakíl with a *khal'at*, and Rashíd Khán, Sayyid Naçíruddín Khán, Sayyid Sálár Khán, Ághar Khán, and others, were ordered to receive back the imperial lands. Bhím Naráin also sent at this time a vakíl, in order to ask the governor's pardon for his want of loyalty and open rebellion; but Mír Jumlah would listen to no excuse, imprisoned

* So the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.* The *'Álamgírnámah* has, perhaps correctly, Bholánát'h. For Bhím Naráin, MSS. have also Pem Naráin.

the vakíl, and ordered Rájah Subhán Singh Bundelah* with an imperial corps and Mírzá Beg, one of his own officers, with 1000 horse, to occupy Koch Bihár.

As soon as the Asamese heard of the approach of Rashíd Khán, they withdrew from Karíbáṛí and the neighbouring places, and returned at last beyond the Banás river [opposite Gwálpárá]. Rashíd Khán thought their sudden retreat to be a snare, and refused to advance beyond four stages from Jahángírnagar; but on receiving further supplies under Sayyid Yúsuf, who during Shujá's government had been Faujdár of Karíbáṛí, he occupied that Parganah, and soon after took possession of Rangámáṭí. Here he remained, and reported to the governor that the Asamese were making extensive preparations to recover the lost territory.

Subhán Singh in the meantime advanced to Yak Duár; but seeing that Rashíd Khán did not press forward, he, too, remained where he was, especially as the rains had set in, and sent discouraging reports to the governor. By 'Duár' a fortified gateway is meant, built of mortar and bricks, which stands upon a broad *ál*, or raised road,† mostly overgrown with trees, and surrounded by deep and broad ditches and jungle, where the treacherous inhabitants of these districts use to hide.

The governor saw that matters could no longer be left in the hands of his officers, and on obtaining the necessary orders from court, he prepared himself to invade Koch Bihár and Ásám.

The Conquest of Koch Bihár in 1661.

On the 18th Rabí' I., 1072 [1st November, 1661, A. D.], the fourth year of Aurangzíb's reign, the Nawáb [Mír Jumlah] started from Jahángírnagar, leaving Ihtishám Khán in Khizrpúr to protect the capital. Mukhliç Khán garrisoned Akbarnagar (Rájmahall), and all financial matters were left to Bha-

* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the 'Álamgírnámah must be used with care, as the proper names are mostly all wrong. Thus on p. 679, مست ساله should be هتسله; p. 680, كجل should be كجلي; p. 681 and in the whole narrative, سجانسنگ should be سبحان‌سنگ; آغرخان Ághar Khán is also doubtful, the correct spelling being perhaps اغر (ايغور), Ighyr Khán. On p. 690, for پهوتنت and پهوت read the same forms with *b*; p. 692, read ميچ for مسح; p. 693, كوچ‌بهار for كوچ‌بهادر; p. 694 كهونتهگهات for گهوزاگهات; p. 696 تا گرگانو for ناگرگانو; Do., پهانجي for بهانچه; p. 700, پاندو for ناندو; p. 703, مكردهج for مكروپنج; Do., چمدهره for جمدهر; p. 713 سيد نثار for سيد تاتار, منورخان for منصورخان; pp. 720, 721, چپرها for چيزها; p. 722, دفله for دوله; p. 727, كلتا for كلتاني. These are only mistakes in proper nouns.

† Abulfazl thinks that the raised roads, or *áls*, in Bengal, have given rise to the name of the country, *Banga-ál*.

gotí Dás, the Díwán, and to Khwájah Bhagwant Dás; Mír Gházi was appointed Bakhshí and Wáqi'ahnawís, and Muhammad Muqím commanded the fleet. The Nawáb first marched to Barítalah (برتي تله),* the harem and the heavy baggage having been sent *viá* G'horág'hát. Now three roads lead to Koch Bihár, two from his Majesty's empire, and a third *viá* Morang (مورنگ). Of the former two, the first is known as the Yak Duár; and if the Duár be forced, there would be no further obstacles, and the army might proceed to the town of Koch Bihár. The second is known as the K'hont'hag'hát road†. It passes near Rangámáṭí, and is a narrow road intersected by many nálahs. To both sides of the *ál*, or embankment, there is dense jungle up to the town of Koch Bihár. But there was still another road, along an *ál* much lower than the others, and surrounded by dense bamboo shrubs; and as the Rájah thought the road impracticable for an army, he had not guarded it. For this reason the Nawáb determined to go by this road, and ordered the fleet to anchor in the nálah which flows from Sirkár G'horág'hát into the Brahmáputra.

On the last day of Rabí' II. [12th December, 1661], Rájah Subhán Singh joined the Nawáb.

On the 1st Jumáda I, [13th December, 1661], the Nawáb arrived at the foot of the *ál*. A few enemies were there, but they dispersed on his approach. On the next day, the army went along the *al*, the Nawáb himself being continually on horseback. The march was difficult, and the elephants and the footmen had continually to cut a road through the jungle. At a place three stages from Koch Bihár it was reported that the Rajah had fled to Bhútant (Bhootan). The army also crossed here a river, which was said to be bottomless.

On the 6th Jumáda I., the army stood before Koch Bihár, and on the next day [19th December, 1661], the Nawáb entered the town. The *azán*, or call to prayer, was chanted by Çadr Mír Muhammad Çálih in the Rájah's palace.

The kingdom of Koch Bihár extends from Parganah Bhetarband, "which belongs to his Majesty's empire," to Pátgáṇw‡ near the frontier of

* "The frontier of the empire." *'Alamgírnámah.* Barítalah lies near Chilmárí, near the right bank of the Brahmáputra, opposite to Hatsilah in Parganah Karíbárí.

† The Bibl. Indica Edition of the *'Alamgírnámah* has *G'horág'háṭ*, but gives the correct reading in a footnote.

‡ The printed edition has *Pápgáon*, the MS. *Pátgáon.* Pátgáon in the north of the Rangpúr District appears to be meant.

The *'Alamgírnámah* (p. 691) has the following—

"The length of Koch Bihár is 55 statute (*jaríbí*) *kos*, and the breadth 50. * * * Whatever of the country lies within the *band*, is called 'Bhetarband.' One large and two small rivers enter the 'band;' and these, together with such rivers as come from

the kingdom of Morang. It is 52 statute *kos* long. The breadth from the Parganah of Tájhát, which belongs to the empire, to Púsakarpúr (پوسکرپور), near K'hont'hag'hát, is 50 *kos*. The mountains of Bhútant, which are inhabited by the Bhútiahs, produce Ṭángan horses, Bhútiah cloth, Parí,* and musk. Koch Bihár is well-known for its excellent water, mildness of the climate, its fresh vegetation and flowers. Oranges are plentiful, as also other fruits and vegetables. If properly administrated, the country might yield a revenue of 8 lacs of rupees. The inhabitants, since ancient times, are the Mech and Koch tribes. The Rájah belongs to the Mech. He coins gold muhurs and Naráin rupees. The zamíndárs of India esteem the Koch Bihár Rájahs, and believe that they trace their descent from Rájahs who reigned there before the arrival of the Muhammadans in India.

Bhím Naráin was a noble, mighty king, powerful, and fond of company. He never took his lip from the edge of the bowl, nor his hand from the flagon ; he was continually surrounded by singing women, and was so addicted to the pleasures of the harem, that he did not look after his kingdom. His palace is regal, has a *ghusulkhánah*,† a *darshan*, private rooms, accommoda-

other sides, flow into the Sankos. Outside the 'band' are 5 chaklahs, containing 75 parganahs; and within the 'band' there are 12 parganahs. The revenue of the kingdom is nearly 10 lacs of Rupees.

* The printed edition has پری parí, the MS. سری sarí. The *'Álamgírnámah* says (p. 690) that 'parí' is a kind of thick cloth with long threads (*purzdár*, like coarse plush), woven on strings, and is used for carpets. "Another woollen stuff is called پهوت, phút." The last is very likely a mistake for the *bhútiah* cloth mentioned in the text.

† The word *ghusulkhánah*, as is well known, means now-a-day a bath-room, or a closet, or both. At the Dihlí court it had a particular meaning, as will be seen from the following extracts. The Bahár i 'Ajam says—" It is said that Sher Sháh, when emperor of Dihlí, appointed a room in the Palace where he used to sit after his bath, in order to have his curls dried. (This, by the way, is the only historical statement which ascribes curls [*gesuán*] to Sher Sháh.) When Akbar came to the throne, he called that room *Díwán i kháç*. Khán Árzú says that he had heard that the grandees in old times used to *sit* on coming to pay their respects; but when Akbar came to the throne, he disapproved of it. He could not, however, do away with the custom, and built a house where he took his bath, but put on that account no carpets on the ground, so that when the Amírs came in, they had to stand. And from his time, the grandees in presenting reports, &c., have been accustomed to stand. Now the room was called *ghusulkhánah*, and though the bath was in course of time abolished, the name remained."

From the *Pádisháhnámah* (II, p. 220) we see that Sháhjahán wished to change the name from *ghusulkhánah* to *daulatkhánah i kháç*; but the old name remained. Bernier (Calcutta edition I, p. 300) calls the 'gosel-kanay' an evening reception room.

Darshan, as the name implies, is the place where the king shews himself to the people, a general audience hall.

tions for the harem, for servants, baths and fountains, and a garden. In the town there are flowerbeds in the streets, and trees to both sides of them. The people use the sword, firelock, and arrows, as weapons. The arrows are generally poisoned; their mere touch is fatal. Some of the inhabitants are enchanters; they read formulas upon water, and give it the wounded to drink, who then recover. The men and the women are rarely good looking.

As the people, a day before the army arrived, had fled, the Nawáb strictly forbade plundering; and a few soldiers, having gone marauding and brought home a cow, or a goat, or a few plantains, were marched through the camp and the town with an arrow stuck through their noses, and the stolen things suspended from their necks. This encouraged the inhabitants, and they returned to their homes.

The son of the Rájah* about this time fled from his father, and waited on the Nawáb, and became a Muhammadan.

Isfandiár Beg, son of the late Iláh Yár Khán, was ordered to Morang to capture Bhawánát'h, the Rájah's vazír. Farhád Khan also was sent there by another route. Rizá Qulí Beg Abíkash, a companion of Isfandiár, captured the vazír and brought him in fettered, as also his wife and child. According to orders, the Yak Duár was levelled with the ground, and by cutting down the trees for about a hundred yards, an open space was made. 106 guns, 145 zambúraks, 11 rámchangís, 123 matchlocks, and much material and baggage, were seized. The artillery stores were forwarded to Jahángírnagar. Of the other things Muhammad 'Ábid, the Barrack Master, took charge. A party was then sent to Kanthalbárí at the foot of the Bhútant Hills, where the Rajah concealed himself; but the Rájah withdrew to the summit of the mountains. Only an elephant, several horses, and cow carriages, and a Bhútiah, were brought back. The Bhútiah begged hard for his life, and promised to take a letter to the Rájah of Bhútant, whose name is Dharmrájah, and who is over one hundred and twenty years old. He is an ascetic, eats only plantains, drinks only milk, and indulges in no pleasures whatever. He is famous for his justice, and rules over a large people. The prisoner also told us that a river runs through his kingdom, not very broad, but very

* The *'Álamgírnámah* calls him Bishn Naráin, and says that Bhím Naráin from distrust had always kept him under surveillance (p. 688).

For *Mech*, the Bibl. Indica edition of that work has Mash (مسح). "The inhabitants of Koch Bihár belong to two tribes, the *Mech* and the *Bihar* tribes. The former live within the 'band,' the Bihárs without it. In fact the name Koch Bihár has a reference to this tribe; even Ásám is sometimes called 'Koch Ásám.' The people are very ugly, both men and women; they look like Qalmáqs, and have a steel blue complexion. Some are fair. Among the Meches white people are found. This tribe furnishes agriculturists and soldiers" (pp. 692, 693).

The king in the *'Álamgírnámah* also is described as an effeminate voluptuary, who left every thing in the hands of his vazír 'Bholánath.'

rapid and deep; and a chain passes over the water, the ends of which are fastened to opposite rocks. Above this chain there is another, the distance between the two being the height of a man. People cross the river by walking along the lower chain and supporting themselves by seizing the upper one; even horses and burdens are made to cross the river on the chain. I cannot vouch for the truth of the Bhútiah's story. The man looked very fair, was strongly built, and had long, light brownish hair, hanging over the shoulders. His only dress was a white cloth which covered his private parts. Their language is related to that of the Kochís. The Nawáb now sent the man with a letter to the Dharmrájah, asking him to seize and send Bhím Naráin to him, or at least drive him from his hills. The man brought at last an answer, in which the Dharmrájah excused himself by saying that he had not called Bhím Naráin; but as he had come unasked, he could not well drive away a guest.

The Nawáb had no time to lose, overlooked the impertinence, and prepared himself to invade Ásám.

Koch Kihár was thus annexed. The name of the town was changed to *'Álamgírnagar*. Isfandiár Beg received from his Majesty the title of Khán, and was to officiate as Faujdár of the country till the arrival of 'Askar Khán, who had been appointed to that office. Isfandiár remained in Koch Bihár with 400 horse of his own contingent, and 1000 Imperial matchlockmen: Qází Samúi Shujá'i* was made Díwán; Mír 'Abdurrazzáq and Khwájah Kishwar Dás Mançabdár were made Amíns.

The Nawáb after a stay of sixteen days started for Ásám.

The Conquest of A'sa'm.

The Nawáb left Koch Bihár on the 23d Jumáda I., [4th January, 1662],† and marched over K'honṭ'hagháṭ into Ásám. Everywhere there were dense jungles. When he arrived at Rangámáṭí, Rashíd Khán joined him. The zamíndárs of the district, who believed the conquest impossible, could not be trusted, and the Nawáb had for carriage and guides solely to depend on his own exertions. Dilír Khán was appointed *haráwal* (vanguard); and he and Mír Murtazá, the Dároghah of the Artillery park, had to look after the roads. In consequence of the jungles and the numerous nalahs, which

* *I. e.* Qází Samú, who had been in the service of Prince Shujá'. The Bibl. Indica Edition of *Kháfí Khán* calls him Qází Tímúr, evidently on the authority of bad MSS. Besides, Kháfí Khán is an untrustworthy historian.

The "rebellious" princes of the Dihlí house receive nick names at the hands of the historians. Dárá Shikoh, *i. e.* 'one who has the dignity of Darius,' is called *Dárá be Shikoh*, the undignified Dárá; Prince Shujá', *i. e.*, 'the brave,' is always called 'Náshujá', 'the recreant.' Shahryár, Jahángír's son, who proclaimed himself at Láhor, was nicknamed 'Náshudaní, or 'good-for-nothing.'

† The *'Álamgírnámah* (p. 694) says that the reached the Brahmáputra on the 28th.

however were mostly shallow, the daily progress was not more than 2 or 2½ *kos.* The fatigues which the men had to undergo defy all description. The grass and the reeds especially were annoying to men and animals.

At last, on the 9th Jumáda II., [20th January, 1662], they reached and took possession of Fort Jogíg'hopah* [opposite Gwálpárá], which belongs to Kámrúp.* The enemies had fled without striking a blow. 'Aṭáullah, a servant of the Nawáb, was left here as Thánahdár. It is a high and large fort on the Brahmáputra. Near it the enemies had for a short distance dug many holes in the ground for the horses to fall into, and pointed pieces of bamboo (called in their language *phánjís*) had been stuck in the holes. Behind the holes, for about half a shot's distance, on even ground, they had made a ditch, and behind this ditch another one three yards deep near the fort. The latter ditch was also full of pointed bamboos. This is the way how the Asamese fortify all their positions. They make their forts, like the Indian peasants, of mud. The Brahmáputra is south of the fort; and on the east a large river, called the Banás, flows past the mountain and joins the Brahmáputra. To the north, the fort is guarded by a ditch, several mountains, and dense jungle. The writer nearly lost one his horses that had put its foot into one of the holes.

A bridge of boats was made over the Banás. At the time of crossing, the guns of a boat fell into the river; so also a gun belonging to the Nawáb, which shot *ser* balls (سیرگوله). The latter was after several days' labour recovered.

Naçíruddín Khán, Yádgár Khán, and other Amírs crossed the Brahmáputra, and marched along the other bank opposite to the army, whilst 'Aṭáullah, one of the Nawáb's men, was left behind as commander of Jogíg'hopah.

On the 24th Jumáda II. [4th February, 1662], the neighbourhood of Gawáhaṭṭí was reached. Rashíd Khán was sent off, to prevent the enemies from escaping to the north. But before he could reach, they had fled, and left the fort empty.

On the 25th Jumáda II., the army reached Fort Sríg'háṭ. The exits and entrances had all been closed with large logs of wood driven into the ground. Some the elephants pulled out, some Hájí Muhammad Báqir of Isfahán, a servant of the Nawáb, renowned for his strength. The Nawáb entered and inspected the place, and then moved to Gawáhaṭṭí, which lies a *kos* further on. Fort Pándú also, which lies on the other side of the river opposite to Sríg'háṭ, was taken without fight. Yádgár Khán Uzbak killed, however, a

* The *'Álamgírnámah* (p. 696) says that Jogíg'hopah means 'Hermit's Cave,' and was so called from a Hindú Ascetic who had lived there. On the other side of the river was a mountain called Panch Ratan, also fortified. An island on the river had also been fortified with palisades.

large number of the retreating enemies. The garrison also of Fort Kajlí, which lies 7 *kos* farther from Fort Pándú, had deserted the stronghold. Some zambúraks, matchlocks, and a quantity of gunpowder, were captured. Fort Sríg'háṭ is bigger and higher than Fort Jogíg'hopah. Fort Pándú is about equal to Fort Sríg'háṭ; Fort Kajlí is not less important. Idol-temples devoted to Gaumuk'hiádebí and Lunáchamári and Ismá'íl Jogí, are upon the mountain near Fort Pándú. From the foot of the mountain to the top there is a stone staircase of more than 950 and less than 1000 steps. Fort Kajlí lies near the very same 'Kajlíban,' which is mentioned in Hindú books. It is a place full of elephants.

At this time Makardhaj,* Rájah of Durang, who is subject to the Rájah of Ásám, came and paid his respects to the Nawáb, presented an elephant, received a *khal'at*, was promised protection, and was ordered to travel with the army.

Muhammad Beg, a dependent of the Nawáb, was made Faujdár of Gawáhaṭṭí, and Hasan Beg Zanganah, also a servant of the Nawáb, was made Thanahdár of Kajlí.

II.

After Rashíd Khán had occupied Rangámáṭí, before the Nawáb had left Khizrpúr, the zamíndárs of Ásám had sent an ambassador to Rashíd Khán with insolent letters. Rashíd sent the man to the Nawáb, who told him in plain terms that if the Rájah of Ásám would restore those lands which he had occupied and would send his daughter with a decent *peshkash* and also the guns and other things which he had carried off from Kámrúp, and make a treaty and give his oath that he would in future desist from annoying the imperialists, the Nawáb would give up the expedition. Indeed the Nawáb would have liked such an arrangement, and would have contented himself with the cession of Kámrúp and a moderate *peskash*, as he wished, after the rains were over, to invade Arakan; for his Majesty had ordered him to send the children and the wives of Prince Shujá' to court. But the Nawáb resolved to settle in this year the affairs of Koch Bihár and Ásám, and to go next year to Arakan. The ambassador to whom he had given the above answer, did not return; and after having waited some time at Gawáhaṭṭí, on the 27th Jumáda II., the Nawáb set out, and entered Ásám Proper. Asamese warfare depends upon trickr and night attacks; hence all guards were ordered to do *chaukí* armed and with their horses saddled.

The march was directed to Ghargáon, the capital of the Rájah, which lies on the other side of the Brahmáputra. First it was necessary to take Fort

* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the 'Álamgírnámah (p. 703) has *Makropanj.*

Chamdhurah. At the place Bartínah* (برتينه), which lies halfway between Gawáhatti and Chamdhurah, the whole army crossed in two days the Brahmáputra on boats, on the 6th Rajab [15th February, 1662]. A messenger, who had accompanied the former Asamese ambassador, came here into camp with an evasive answer. The Rájah of Dúmuriah (دومريه), one of the subjects of the Rájah of Ásám, sent his brother's son with an elephant to attend on the Rájah, begging the Nawáb to excuse his absence as he was sick. His relation went with the camp.

At this time Mírzá Beg, the Bakhshí of the Nawáb, was killed. He was stabbed by one of his soldiers; but though mortally wounded, he inflicted two sword-cuts on the man. Mírzá Beg died during the night, and the murderer was killed by Mírzá Beg's relations.

At one of the stages, a tremendous storm took place, during which many ships were upset; large pieces of hail also fell, and many horses threw themselves into the river. The Asamese, thinking that Fort Chamdhurah would be, as it had been in former expeditions, the farthest point of the advance of the imperialists, had strengthened the fortifications of Símlahgar, which lies on the other side of the river, opposite to Chamdhurah. On the 11th Rajab [20th February, 1662], the army encamped at the foot of Símlahgar, so near the fort that a zambúrak ball from the fort passed over the Nawáb's tent. Some of the Nawáb's men wished to take the fort by climbing up; but as this would have cost much human life, they were ordered not to do so, and a siege was commenced.

Símlahgar is very strong and high. The inhabitants are as numerous as ants and locusts. Two sides of the fort have walls with battlements, and guns are placed without break upon them. The guns are all manned. At the foot of the walls are a ditch and the customary holes with the *phánjís*. On the south side, the fort ends in a hill extending for four *kos*. The

* برتينه, MS. برتنبه. The 'Álamgírnámah does not give the name.

The name 'Bártínah' is doubtful, and our modern maps do not help us to identify the place where Mír Jumlah crossed for the left bank of the Brahmáputra. Chamdhurah lies opposite to Tezpúr, the maps giving a Mahall Chamdhoree and a place of the same name. A Chamdhoreegaon I find marked on an island of the Brahmáputra, east of Tezpúr, half way between Tezpúr and the Kamakhya Temple.

Símlahgar (for which the Bibl. Indica Edition of *Kháfí Khán* gives *Bhímgar*) is not on our maps; but it cannot lie far from Tezpúr, as it is said to lie opposite to Chamdhurah. After the conquest of Símlahgar, the Nawáb inspects the fort, and encamps *on the same day* at Kulyábar, which lies on the left bank of the Brahmáputra, S. E. of Tezpúr.

The identification of these names is a difficult matter, as it would appear that the numerous branches of the Brahmáputra are often shifting. Mr. Foster (*vide* pp. 35, 39) identifies Bernier's Chamdara with a place of the same name five miles from Ghargáon. This may be correct; but if so, it is another Chamdara, because the Chamdurah opposite to Símlahgar lies, as will be seen below, seven days' marches *west* of Lak'húgar, the western point of Majuli Island.

northern wall is near the Brahmáputra, about 3 *kos* distant from it. A nálah extends from the south of the fort, touching the southern bastion and from there flows westward. The army encamped on the banks of this nálah.

Mahmúd Beg distinguished himself by his alertness. Dilír Khán and Mír Murtazá were in advance, and threw up trenches within gun-shot distance from the fort. The big guns were sent to them; but as the walls of the fort were too wide, the guns made little impression on them. The commanders, however, carried their covered ways (*síbah*) close up to the wall, continually exposed to the fire of the enemies. In one night, a sally on the covered trenches was with difficulty repulsed.

III.

The Conquest of Símlahgar.

The attacking column moved forward in the night of the 15th Rajab, commanded by Dilír Khán. A'dam Khán tells the author that Dilír's elephant received twenty-five wounds. Farhád Khán and A'ghar Khán were wounded. Dilír enters the fort, and Mír Murtazá opens the gate. The enemies fly. Mahmúd Beg pursues them. A good number of Musalmán men and women were found, whom the enemies had forced to remain with them.

The fall of Símlahgar broke the spirit of the hostile garrison of Chamdhurah. They fled.

The Nawáb entered Símlahgar on the 16th Rajab [26th February, 1662], and was astonished to see the strength of the fortifications. He then encamped at Kulyábar (كلیابر). Much war material was taken. No marauding whatever was allowed; in fact during the whole expedition, which lasted one year, the punishments inflicted on marauders were most severe.

Sayyid Naçíruddín Khán was made Faujdár of Kulyábar; and Sayyid Mírzá, Sayyid Nisár,* and Rájah Kishn Singh garrisoned Chamdhurah.

IV.

Victorious progress of the fleet. Arrival at Lak'húgar.

The Nawáb left Kulyábar on the 20th Rajab [2nd March, 1662]. On account of the hills along the banks of the Brahmáputra, the army had to march at some distance from the river, and was thus separated from the ships. It happened that Ibn Husain for some important reason was away from the fleet with the army, when suddenly, after evening prayer, on the 21st Rajab, 7 or 800 hostile ships attacked the fleet, which had just anchored. Munawwar Khán Zamíndár and 'Alí Beg did their best till more ships came up. The cannonade lasted the whole night and was heard by the army. The Nawáb sent Muhammad Múmin Beg (a servant of Yakahtáz Khán)

* The Bibl. Indica Edition of the '*A'lamgírnámah* (p. 713) has 'Sayyid Tátár.'

to assist the fleet. He arrived at the first watch of the morning at a nálah near the river and the fleet, and told his trumpeters to blow. This decided the fate of the engagement. 300 or 400 ships, with a gun on each, were seized. The author was with the fleet.

The next day the army again approached the river.

The conquest of Símlahgar and the defeat of their fleet disheartened the Asamese. They withdrew to the hills, and trusted to surprises and night-attacks.

The Nawáb then reached *Solahgar* (سولهگر), where several Amírs came with letters from the Rájah—Amírs are called in Asamese *Phúkans* (پهوکن)—, and asked for peace. But it soon became evident that their object was to cause delay or a decrease in vigilance, in which hope they were disappointed.

On the 27th Rajab [9th March, 1662], the Nawáb reached Lak'húgar. Here eleven elephants of the Rájah were seized. A Brahman, an inhabitant of Dewalgáon and spiritual guide of the Rájah, came to the camp; so did Yalnolí Phúkan, who brought a *pándán*, a gold vessel, and two silver jars, 100 gold muhurs, and a submissive letter from the Rájah. But the letter was not deemed sincere, and a reply was sent that the Nawáb would soon be in Ghargáon, where alone he would treat with the Rájah.

Lak'húgar* lies at the confluence of the Dihing River with the Brahmáputra. The Dihing comes from the mountains north of Ghargáon, and he who goes to Ghargáon travels along the southern banks of the Dihing. Between the Dihing and the Brahmáputra is a tract (خريزه) which stretches to the mountains of Námrúp, and is well cultivated.

Ghargáon itself lies on the Dík'ho Nálah, which 8 *kos* from the town joins the Dihing. It is very shallow, and the fleet was ordered to remain stationed at Lak'húgar, in charge of Ibn Husain Dárogah, Jamál Khán, 'Alí Beg, Munawwar Khán, &c. The fleet consisted of 323 ships, *viz.*,

		Carried forward......	280
159	kosahs (کوسه)	palíls (پليل)	1
48	jalbahs (جلبه)	bhars (بهر)	1
10	ghrábs (غراب)	báláms (بالام)	2
7	parindahs (پرنده)	khatgírís (خطگيري)	10
4	bajrahs (بجره)	mahallgírís (محلگيري)...	5
50	patílahs (پتيله)	palwárahs (پلواره) and other small ships	24
2	salbs (سلب)		
280		Total..............	323

On the 28th of this month, the sun entered Aries.

* Lak'húgar lies on the confluence of the Dihing and the Brahmáputra. The Dihing River, on Lieut. Wilcox's Survey map, published in Vol. XVI of the Asiatic

V.

The Conquest of Ghargáon.

On the 1st Sha'bán, 1072 [12th March, 1662], the Nawáb left Lak'húgar, crossed the nálah, and encamped at the Náosál, or arsenal, of the Rájah. Next day, they came to Dewalgáon, where the spiritual guide of the Rájah lives, crossed a nálah, the water of which reached up to the saddles of the horses, and encamped on the banks. An idol temple and a fine garden, near the Dihing River, are the sights of Dewalgáon. There were plenty of orange trees, full of very large and unusually juicy oranges. They were sold in the camp at ten for a pice. 'Alí Rizá Beg was made Thánahdár of Dewalgáon.

Several Muhammadans of the place informed the Nawáb that the Rájah kept a large number of Musalmáns imprisoned, and had fled with his valuables to Námrúp.

On the 4th Sha'bán [15th March], the Nawáb set out, and encamped at the village of Gajpúr. Farhád Khán and Mír Sayyid Muhammad Díwán i tan, and other Amírs, were ordered to march quickly to Ghargáon, and seize upon the elephants and other property, which the Nawáb had heard were still there. Anwar Beg, a servant of the Nawáb, was made Thánahdár of Gajpúr. Four elephants were here also seized.

On the 5th Sha'bán, [16th March] the Nawáb encamped at Taramhání (ترمهاني), which is the name of the confluence of the Dík'ho and the Dihing, and made Núrullah, one of his servants, Thánahdár of Taramhání. He collected here much cattle. Muhammad Muqím was ordered to seize on Námdáng,* a place between Taramhání and Ghargáon and a nálah, which comes from the hill and passes it.

Researches, forms with the Burí or Lohit Branch the Majoli Island. Mr. Peal informs me that the Lohit is the old bed of the Brahmáputra; the Dík'ho and the Dísang fell into the Dihing, and the Majolí Island was joined to Muttok by an isthmus. On modern maps the name of Dihing is not used; the Lohit is looked upon as a branch, and the former Dihing branch is now called Brahmáputra. On no map have I found Lak'húgar, which circumstance may be due to the shifting of the stream. But if it lay at the confluence of the modern Lohit and Brahmáputra, it can scarcely be identical with the Lockwa mentioned on p. 38; for the distance of the point of confluence from Ghargáon is more than a geographical degree. Nor can I find the place Solahgar, 'which lies between Kulyábar and Lak'húgar.'

* Dewalgáon lies two miles N. E. of the point where the Ladhiágarh crosses the Sioní Ál (or Allí, which seems to be the word now-a-days used in Ásám). Gajpúr lies two miles from Jorhát. At Gajpúr the Nawáb was on the Sioní Ál; he then turned off to the Bor Ál, on which Taramhání must have been. Mr. Foster suggests to alter the Taramhání of the MSS. to *Tarah-hání* '(ترهاني), which means 'a feeding-ground.' The letters *he* and *mím* are constantly confused in MSS., and Mr. Foster's conjecture does the reading of the MSS. no violence. It is also significant that at Tarahání the Nawáb

At every station the road was intersected by nálahs; in fact they are so numerous, that I cannot mention each singly.

On the 16th Sha'bán, [17th March, 1662] the Nawáb entered Ghargáon. He crossed the Dík'ho, and went eastward, and occupied the Rájah's palace.

The next day many guns were recovered from the tanks into which the Rájah had thrown them before his flight; 82 elephants, and nearly three lacs of rupees in gold and silver, were also found. The number of guns which were captured, from the starting of the expedition till the return, was 675, among them a large iron gun (توپ آهني بچهدار) the balls of which weighed 3 *mans;* 1343 zambúraks; 1200 rámchangís; and 6570 matchlocks; 340 *mans* of powder; 1960 boxes with powder, in each box about 2 or 2½ *mans* of powder; 7828 shields; a large quantity of saltpetre, iron, sulphur, and lead; 1000 and odd ships, many of which accommodated 80, 70, and 60 sailors. Unfortunately 123 *bachhárí* ships, like which no other existed in the dock-yards at Ghargáon, were burned, some Asamese having set fire to the *chhappars* under which they were kept. About 173 store houses for rice were discovered, over which matchlockmen were placed as guards, each of the houses containing from ten to one thousand *mans* of rice. These stores proved very useful.

VI.

*On Ásám and its Inhabitants.**

Ásám is a wild and inaccessible country, cultivated only along the Brahmáputra, which flows through it from east to west. From Gawáhaṭṭí to Sadiah (سديه) the distance is about 200 *kos.* The breadth from the hills, inhabited by the Mírís, Michmís [Mishmís], Duflahs, and Lándahs,† up to the

" collects cattle," and Mr. Foster tells me that according to the legends the Bor Ál was expressly constructed to bring the Rájah's milk from the feeding grounds to Ghargáon.

The Nawáb then marches along the Bor Ál, a magnificent road, to Námdáng, for which the *'Álamgírnámah* (p. 719) has ' Lámdáng, and the *Fathiyah,* ' Rámdáng. The Námdáng River flows into the Dík'ho, N. N. W. of Ghargáon. The distance of Námdáng from the Bánsgaṛh of Ghargáon is about ten miles. At the place where the Bor Ál enters the Bánsgaṛh, there is still a ruined fortified gateway, called the ' Singh Duár,' from which the Dík'ho is about four miles distant.

* The greater part of this chapter is given in the 'Álamgírnámah, from which it was translated into English by Mr. H. Vansittart in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, p. 171. But as his proper names are mostly wrong, I give here a full translation of the chapter as given in the more complete *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah.*

† All MSS. have clearly *lándah.* If the word is correct, it would refer to a tribe of Aborigines not mentioned in our Ethnological works. Col. Dalton, to whom I

district of the Nágá tribes, is about a journey of seven or eight days. Its southern mountains reach the Khasiah (خصيه), Kachhár, and the Gonaser Hills* lengthways, and in the breadth, the Nágá Hills. Its northern mountains reach the high ridges of Kámrúp lengthways, and in the breadth the hills occupied by the Duflahs and the Lándahs.

The northern banks of the Brahmáputra form the Uttarkol; the southern, the Dak'hinkol. The Uttarkol extends from Gawáhaṭṭí to the country of the Mírís and Michmís; and the Dak'hinkol from the kingdom of Nakíráni (نكيراني)† to Sadiah. The hill tribes pay no tribute to the Rájah of Ásám, but regard him with awe, and submit to some of his orders. But the Duflahs do not obey him, and often make raids into the Rájah's territory.

The distance between Kulyábar aad Ghargáon is well cultivated; everywhere are houses, gardens, and orchards. Along the sides of the road there

submitted this passage, says in a letter—"I cannot make out the word 'Lándah;' but from the relative position of the word with the names of the other tribes of the North bank, I think, the author must mean the Ákas or Áṇkas; and if you read the passage thus "The breadth of Ásám from the hills inhabited by the (1) Mishmís, (2) Mírís, (3) Duflahs, (4) Áṇkas, to the Nágá Hills, &c.," you have the tribes in their proper geographical order. Your author includes only Upper and Central Ásám in his description of what he calls Ásám, excluding Kámrúp. This explains what might otherwise appear obscure when he says (in the following sentence)—"The northern mountains (*i. e.* those in which the Mishmís, Mírís, &c., dwell) extend to the high ridges of Kámrúp."

Regarding the Mírís, Mishmís, and Duflahs (Dophlas) the reader will find the fullest information in Col. Dalton's "Ethnology of Bengal."

* The text has كشمير Kashmír; the MS. of the Asiatic Society has كشير *Kashír*, or كنشير *Kanashír*. The '*Álamgírnámah* boldy substitutes Srínagar (*i. e.*, Kashmír), which Vansittart also gives. But this is absurd. I have conjecturally translated *Gonaser Hills, i. e.* گنشير *Gunasher*, following the MS. of the Asiatic Society. A part of what we now call the Gáro Hills is evidently meant; and I find that Rennell,—but no modern map—calls the southern portion of the Gáro Hills *Gonaser* (Map ix, of the Bengal Atlas). The order of his hills from the east is Kachhár Hills, Jaintiah Hills, Gonaser Hills, Karím Hills, Karíbárí Hills. His Gáro Hills are north of the Gonaser Hills. The word *Nágá* is spelt with a nasal *n*, 'Nánga;' hence Vansittart's *Nanac*. For his *Zemlah*, زمله, we have to read *Daflahs* دفله,—a shifting of the dot.

† Col. Dalton says:—"The author again excludes Kámrúp from Ásám, and commences the Uttarkol from Gawáhaṭṭí. The modern Gawáhaṭṭí is on the south bank; but the ancient city, called Pragjoitishpúr, occupied a vast area on both banks. Nakíráni I cannot make out; it may, however, refer to Deshráṇí, a large parganah of Kámrúp, close to the modern Gawáhaṭṭí."

Col. Dalton's identification is confirmed by the author's wish to exclude Kámrúp from Ásám; hence the Dak'hinkol must commence with the Deshráni parganah. The name again occurs below in the articles of peace (p. 94).

are high bamboo-shrubs. There are many wild and cultivated flowers, and behind the bamboos, as far as the hills, there are fields and gardens. So it is also along the road from Lak'húgar to Ghargáon. There is a high and wide *ál*, or raised road, up to Ghargáon.

The fields and the gardens are made so even in this country, that the eye up to the far horizon rejoices to see neither depression nor elevation. On the whole, the Uttarkol is better cultivated; but as the Dak'hinkol is better fortified by nature and less easy to cross, the Rájahs of Ásám have generally lived in this part. The climate of all parts near the Brahmáputra is healthy for natives and strangers; but the districts remote from the river are deadly to strangers, though they may be healthy enough for the natives of the place. The rains often last for eight months; even the cold season is not free from rain.

In the cold season, fluxes and fevers attack the natives and spare strangers; in the hot season, strangers suffer more than natives, especially from bilious complaints. But the natives of Ásám are free from several disgusting diseases, as leprosy, white leprosy, elephantiasis, abscesses, swellings of the neck and the testicles, which last complaint is so common in Bengal, and from other diseases. The air and the water in the hills are fatal to natives and strangers. The fruits and flowers of Bengal are found in Ásám; but there are many that are neither to be had in Bengal, nor in other parts of India. Cocoanut and Ním are rare; but *filfil* (pepper), *sádaj* (spikenard),* and different kinds of lemons are common. The mangoes are plentiful, but full of worms; sweet ones without strings are rare. The pine apples are large and taste well; the black, red, and white sugarcane is sweet, but so hard as to break one's teeth; ginger is large and delicate, and not stringy either. Paniálahs, a kind of ámlah, are very fine, and many prefer them to plums.

The staple food of the country is rice; but the superior kinds are rare. Wheat, barley, vetches, are not sown, though the ground is suitable for their cultivation. In fact, everything grows well. Salt is very dear. At the foot of the hills, salt is, indeed, found, but it has a bitter, biting taste. Some of the natives dry the *kelah* plant in the sun, burn it, and collect the ashes in a white sheet, which they fix on four poles. They then pour gradually water on the ashes, and catch whatever percolates in a vessel below the sheet. The liquid is saltpetre-like and very bitter; but they use it as salt. Ducks and fowls are very large. Their fighting cocks are very plucky, and rarely run away. If a weak cock fight with a strong one and get its head broken and its brain scattered about, or be dying, it will never take its eyes from

* Vansittart says that *sádaj* is the same as *tezpát*, Laurus cassia, laurel leaf. Sir W. Jones has an article on the Asamese spikenard in the Asiatic Researches, Vol. II, 405.

the opponent or show its back. Elephants are large and numerous in a wild state in the hills. Gazelles, stags, nílgáos, and wild goats, are rare.

In Ghargáon there were several cage-like enclosures, secured with strong and high poles. It is said that some elephant drivers of the Rájah rub a certain kind of grass over the body of a female elephant, and let her go among wild elephants when they rut. As soon as they smell the scent of the grass, they will run after her, and will even follow her to the enclosure to which the driver leads her, when they are caught. The Nawáb tried in vain to get hold of one of the drivers.

Gold is found in the Brahmáputra; about ten thousand people are employed in the washings. Each man makes in the average a tolah of gold *per annum*, and hands it to the Rájah. But the gold is not fine, and sells for 9 or 8 rupees *per tolah*.

Cowries are in use; and rupees and muhurs, coined by the Rájah, are current. Copper is not current. In the hills of the Míris and Michmís who live in Eastern Ásám, in Uttarkol, about eleven days' journey from Ghargáon, musk deer and wild elephants are found. Silver, copper, and tin (ارزیز) also are obtained in their hills. The way these people live, resembles the way of the Asamese. Their women are generally better looking than the women in Ásám. They dread matchlocks, and say, "A matchlock is a thing that makes a great noise, and does not stir from its place, whilst a child issues from its womb that kills a man." The musk deer is also found in the mountains of Ásám. The musk bags are larger than large [gram] grains, and have a fine colour and perfume. Lignum aloes, which is chiefly found in the mountains of Námrúp, Sadiah, and Lak'húgar, is heavy, coloured, and has a strong scent.

If Ásám were administrated like other parts of the empire, it is quite possible that the land-tax and the revenue from wild elephants and other imposts might amount to 45 lacs of Rupees.* It is not customary to levy taxes from the inhabitants; but of every three people in each house one is taken for the service of the Rájah. If a man is lazy in what he is told to do, capital punishment is immediately inflicted; hence the absolute sway of the Rájah.

No Indian king in former times ever conquered Ásám. Even the intercourse of foreigners and the Asamese was very limited. They allow no stranger to enter their territories, and prevent their own people from leaving the country. Once a year, at the order of the Rájah, a party of Asamese used to visit the neighbourhood of Gawáhattí and the boundary of the

* Last year's revenue of the whole Ásám Division, which contains the districts of Durang, Kámrúp, Lak'himpúr, Naugáon, and Síbságar, in addition to the Nágá, Khasiah, and Jaintiah Hills, amounted to nearly 21 lacs (Rs. 20,93,374).

country, bringing gold, musk, lignum aloes, filfil, sádaj, and silk. These articles they gave in exchange for salt, saltpetre, sulphur, and other things, which the people of Gawáhaṭṭí used to furnish. But all armies that entered Ásám perished, and no caravan ever got safe out of it. If an army invaded the country, it was exposed to continual night attacks; or the people withdrew to the hills, and waited for the beginning of the rains, when the soldiers were sure to die or could easily be cut off.

Thus Husain Sháh, one of the kings of Bengal, invaded Ásám with 24000 foot and horse and numerous ships. The Rájah withdrew to the hills. Husain Sháh, therefore, took possession of the country, left his son there with a strong detachment, and returned to Bengal. As soon as the rains set in, the Rájah came down from the hills and, assisted by his own people, who had of course submitted to Husain's son, killed the prince, starved the army, and managed to capture or kill the whole of them. It is said that the people who are now called Moslems in Ásám, are the descendants of the captives of Husain's army.*

It is from the misfortunes which have invariably befallen those who entered Ásám, that the people of India have come to look upon the Asamese as sorcerers, and use the word 'Ásám' in such formulas as dispel witchcraft.

The Ásám Rájahs have always been insolent and proud of their power and the number of their men.

The present Rájah, Jaidhaj Singh, is called Sargí Rájah, because *sarg* in Hindí means 'heaven.' The fellow believes that one of his ancestors commanded the heavenly host, and descended from heaven on a golden ladder; and as he found the country beautiful, he remained there instead of returning to heaven. The present Rájah is much prouder than his ancestors: for a slight fault he will destroy a whole family, or on suspicion throw people into fetters. His wife only gives birth to daughters, and has no son; hence the

* *Vide* Prinsep's list of the Ásám Rájahs, p. 273, of Thomas's Edition of Prinsep's Useful Tables. His list is based upon the *Ásám Búranji*, or Ásám Chronicle, by Hulirám Dhaikiyál Phúkan, of Gawáhaṭṭí. Another *Ásám Búranji*, or history of the kings of Ásám, was compiled by Srí Radhanath Bar Baruwá and Kásinath Támulí Phúkan, (printed by the American Baptist Mission Press, Sibságar, Ásám 1844, 8vo, 102 pp.).

Husain's invasion is generally referred to A. D. 1498, and his son's name is said to have been Dalál (Jalál, ?) Ghází.

The *'Álamgírnámah* and the Ásám Histories speak of an invasion of Ásám by Muhammad Sháh (A. D., 1337). The former work says (p. 731)—"Muhammad Sháh, son of Tughluq Sháh, sent 100,000 horse well equipped to Ásám; but the whole army perished in that land of witchcraft, and not a trace was left of the army. He sent a second army to avenge the former disaster; but when they came to Bengal, they would not go farther, and the plan had to be given up."

Thus it would seem that Muhammad Tughluq intended to invade China viâ Ásám. *Vide* Dowson, Elliot's History, Vol. III, pp. 241, 242.

word 'succession' has a bad name in A'sám, especially as there is no male relation in the whole family. He professes to be a Hindú; but as he believes himself to be one of the great emanations of the deity, he worships no idols. The inhabitants profess no religion whatever. They eat whatever they get, and from whomsoever it be, following the bent of their uncivilized minds. They will accept food from Muhammadans and other people; they will eat every kind of flesh except human, whether of dead or killed animals. They taboo butter, so much so that they refuse food, if it only smells of butter.

The language of the Asamese differs entirely from the dialects spoken in Eastern Bengal.

The males are strongly built. They are quarrelsome, fond of shedding blood, fearless in affrays, merciless, mean, and treacherous; in lies and deceit they stand unrivalled beneath the sun. Their women have mild features, but are very black; their hair is long, and their skin soft and smooth; their hands and feet are delicate. From a distance the people look well; but they are ill-favoured as far as proportion of limbs is concerned. Hence if you look at them near, you will call them rather ugly. Neither the women of the Rájah, nor those of common people, veil themselves; they go about in the bazars without head-coverings. Few men have less than two wives; most have four or five. The several wives of a man will carry on sales and barter among each other.

In paying respect, the Asamese bend the knees; and when the subjects go to the king or the *phúkans*, they bend their knees, sit *dozánú*, and fix their eyes on the ground. They shave the head and beard and whiskers; and if a man only departs a little from this custom, they call him Bengalized and kill him.

Asses, camels, horses, are as rare in A'sám as phœnixes; but like asses they will admire a donkey and pay a high price for it. If they see a camel, they get quite excited in their admiration. They are afraid of horses. If they catch one, they cut through the sinews of the feet; and if a horseman attack a hundred armed Asamese, they will throw down their arms, and run away; but if one of them should meet ten Muhammadans on foot, he will fearlessly attack them and even be victorious.

To sell an elephant is looked upon as a heinous crime. The Rájah and the Phúkans travel in *singhásans*, and chiefs and rich people in *dúlís*, made in a most ridiculous way. They use a kind of chair instead of howdahs. Turbans, long coats, trowsers, shoes, and sleeping on *chárpáis*, are quite unusual. They use a coarse cloth for the head, one for the waist, and a sheet for the the shoulders. Some of the richer people wear a kind of half coat, which resembles our *Ya'qúbkhání* jacket. Those who can afford it, sleep on a wooden dais.

They eat *pán* in large quantities with unripe *supárí*, unshelled. They weave excellent flowered silk, velvet, ṭáṭbands, and other silks. Boxes, trays, stools, chairs, are cleverly and neatly made of one piece of wood. I saw several stools belonging to the Rájah, two cubits broad; even the feet were cut out of the same piece, and not merely joined to it.

Their war-sloops resemble the Bengalí *kosahs*. They call them *bacháris*. The difference is only this that at the poop and the stern, the kosah has two planks (شاخ, *pr.* branches); but the poop (*sar*) and the *keel* (بن) of the bacháris are made of one flattened plank. They are slower than kosahs. The shipping traffic may be estimated from remarks taken from the reports of the Wáqi'ahnawís of Gawáhaṭṭí for Ramazán last. He says that, up to the present time, no less than 32,000 boats, bacháris and kosahs, have arrived here. The number of ships engaged for the army, and those belonging to the Asamese which accompanied the army on its return, must certainly have been larger; and it is probable that more than one half belonged to Asamese. The ships are built of *chambal* wood (چنبل, MS. جنبل); and a ship built of such wood, no matter how full it is, will never, on sinking, remain at the bottom of the water. This fact was examined by many, and by me, too. Their matchlocks and *bachahdár* guns are well cast, and the people show much expertness in the manufacture. Their powder is of several kinds; for the best kind they import the components from his Majesty's country.

With the exception of the gates of Ghargáon and some idol temples, houses in Ásám are not built of bricks or stones and mortar. Rich and poor build their houses of wood or bamboo or grass.

The ancient inhabitants of this country belong to two nations, the Asamese and the Kulitá (کلتا).* The latter, in all things, are superior to the former, except where fatigues are to be undergone, and in warlike expedi-

* "The Kolitas are the only pure descendants of the Aryans who first colonized Ásám. They were dominant there for many centuries, and had evidently arrived at a high state of civilization when the inroads of the Mongolians commenced. There was a Hindu Pál dynasty in the upper portion of the valley with their head quarters at Sadiah, who succumbed to a Chutiá or Kachárí invasion, probably about the same time that the Kámrúp Hindú dynasty was subverted by the Koch. Afterwards the Shans conquered the valley from Sadiah to Kámrúp, and on the retreat of the Muhammadans invaded and took possession of Kámrúp. These Shans after their first successes called themselves the 'Ahom,' or 'the non-equalled people,' and hence the name of Ásám." *Vide* Col. Dalton's *Ethnology of Bengal*, Group II, Sect. I.

The interchange of *s* and *h* is very common in Asamese; several other examples will be found below. It is curious that the same interchange of *h* and *s* should be found in Ásám, the farthest east, and in Sindh, the farthest west; for it is Sindh, country and river, which, in its pronunciation *hind*, induced the Greeks to call the whole country *India*.

tions, in which the former are better. Six or seven thousand Asamese guard the environs of the palace and the harem of the Rájah. The guards are called *jaudángs* (جوداںگ),* and are the trusted and devoted servants and executioners of the Rájah. The arms used by the people are matchlocks, rámchangís, guns, arrows with ironpoints and without them, half swords, long lances, bamboo bows, and *Takhsh* arrows. At the time of war, all trades people and well-to-do peasants, and farmers, with or without armour, have to serve, whether they will or not.† Like jackals, they will commence a tremendous howl, and will like foxes think that the noise frightens the lions of the bush. A small number of their fighting men may indeed checkmate thousands; they are the *açal* Asamese; but their number does not exceed 20,000.‡ They are given to night attacks, for which they especially believe the night of Tuesday to be auspicious. But the common people will run away, with or without fighting, and only think of throwing away their armours.

They bury their dead with the head towards the East and the feet towards the West. The chiefs erect funeral vaults (دخمه) for their dead, kill the women and servants of the deceased, and put necessaries, &c., for several years, *viz.* elephants, gold and silver vessels, carpets, clothes, and food, into the vaults. They fix the head of the corpse rigidly with poles, and put a lamp with plenty of oil and a *mash'alchí* [torchbearer] alive into the vault, to look after the lamp. Ten such vaults were opened by order of the Nawáb, and property worth about 90,000 Rupees was recovered.§ In one vault in which the wife of a Rájah about 80 years ago had been buried, a golden *pándán* was found, and the *pán* in it was still fresh. This fact was related by Páyandah Beg, Assistant Wáqi'ahnawís, and by Sháh Beg, at an evening

* *Vulgo* Sowdangs.

† *Vide* Robinson's *Descriptive Account* of Asam, p. 200. Robinson's work is a very valuable book. The author died in Ásám of fever, and lies buried in Mr. Foster's compound in Názirah, Upper Ásám.

‡ "What the Persian Historian says of the physical superiority of the Asamese over the Kolitás was, no doubt, quite true at the time; for the Asamese were then a hardy, meat-eating, beer-drinking, fighting race, and the Kolitás were effeminate subjected Hindús." From a letter by Col. Dalton. Regarding the Kolitás, *vide* Col. Dalton's Ethnology of Bengal, last group.

§ "The account of the burial of Ahom magnates is confirmed by more recent disclosures of desecrated graves. About twenty years ago, several mounds, known to be the graves of Ahom kings, were opened and were found to contain not only the remains of the kings, but of slaves, male and female, and of animals that had been immolated to serve their masters in Hades; also gold and silver vessels, food, raiment, arms, &c., were not wanting." From a letter by Col. Dalton.

An account of the opening of some of these tombs will be found in the Journal of this Society, Vol. xvii, Pt. I., p. 473.

party given by the Nawáb; and Rasmí Beg, who received the *pándín*, told me the same.

The Muslims whom we met in Ásám, are Asamese in their habits, and Muhammadans but in name. In fact they liked the Asamese better than us. A few Musalmán strangers that had settled there, kept up prayers and fasts; but they were forbidden to chant the azán and read the word of God in public.

The town of Ghargáon has four gates built of stone and mortar, the distance of each of which from the palace of the Rájah is three *kos*. A high and wide *ál*, very strong, has been made for the traffic (برای تردد مردم); and round about the town, instead of fortifications, there are circular bushes of bamboos, about two *kos* in diameter. But the town is not like other towns, the huts of the inhabitants being within the bamboo bushes near the *Ál*. Each man has his garden or field before his house, so that one side of the field touches the Ál, and the other the house. Near the Rajah's palace, to both sides of the Dík'ho River, are large houses. The bazar road is narrow, and is only occupied by *pán*-sellers. Eatables are not sold as in our markets; but each man keeps in his house stores for a year, and no one either sells or buys. The town looks large, being a cluster of several villages. Round about the palace, an *ál* has been thrown up, the top of which is fortified by a bamboo palisade instead of by walls, and along the sides of it a ditch runs, the depth of which exceeds a man's height. It is always full of water. The circumference is 1 *kos*, 14 *jaríbs*. Inside are high and spacious *chhappars*. The Díwánkhánah of the Rájah, which is called *solang*, is one hundred and twenty cubits in length and thirty wide inside. It has sixty-six pillars, each about four cubits in circumference. The pillars, though so large, are quite smooth, so that at the first glance you take them to be planed (خراطی,?) Now though the Asamese understand planing, yet you cannot believe that they did smoothen the pillars in this way. The ornaments and curiosities with which the whole woodwork of the house is filled, defies all description: nowhere in the whole inhabited world, will you find a house equal to it in strength, ornamentation, and pictures. The sides of this palace are embellished by extraordinary wooden trellice work. Inside there are large brass mirrors highly polished, and if the sun shines on one of them, the eyes of the by-standers are perfectly dazzled. Twelve thousand workmen are said to have erected the building in the course of one year. At one end of the hall, rings are fastened on four pillars opposite to each other, each pillar having nine rings. When the Rájah takes his seat in the hall, they put a dais in the middle of these four pillars, and nine canopies of various stuffs are fastened above it to the rings. The Rájah then sits on the dais below the canopies. The *naqqárachís* (drummers) strike the drum and the *dánd*. The latter instrument is round and

flat, and made of *rúín* metal, and is struck like a gong. The instrument is used when the audience commences, or when the Rájah issues forth, or the Phúkans ride out, or leave for an appointment. Mullá Darwísh i Harawí [a poet who accompanied the expedition] says that these *dánds* must be the very identical metal plates* that are mentioned in the Sháhnámah ; but God knows best. There are other houses in Ghargáon, beautifully adorned, strong, very long and spacious, full of fine mats, which really must be seen. But alas, unless this kingdom be annexed to his Majesty's dominions, not even an infidel could see all these fine things without falling into the misfortunes into which we fell. Beyond the enclosure of this hall there is another house, the dwelling-house of the Rájah. It is a fine and beautiful house. The Phúkans have erected dwellings in its neighbourhood. Each Phúkan is a son-in-law of the Rájah, and has a beautiful garden and a tank. Indeed, it is a pleasant place. As the soil of the country is very damp, the people do not live on the ground floor, but on the *machán*, which is the name for a raised floor.

VII.

Advance of the army to Mat'hurápúr. Erection of Thánahs.

The Rájah had first intended to fly to the Nágá Hills, but from fear of our army, the Nágás would not afford him an asylum.

The Nágás live in the southern mountains of Ásám, have a light brown complexion, are well built, but treacherous. In number they equal the helpers of Yagog and Magog, and resemble in hardiness and physical strength the 'Ádıs [an ancient Arabian tribe]. They go about naked like beasts, and do not mind to copulate with their women in the streets and the bazars, before the people and the chiefs. The women only cover their breasts,† as they say that it would be absurd to cover those limbs which every one might have seen from their birth ; but this was not the case with the breasts, which since then had formed and should, therefore, be covered. Some of their chiefs came to see the Nawáb. They wore dark hip-clothes (لنگ), ornamented with cowries, and round about their heads they wore a belt of boar's tusks, allowing their black hair to hang down over the neck. The chief weapon of these people is the short mace (زوپین).

* *Vide Áin translation*, p. 562, note 1.

† " I have seen Nágás to the south of Síbságar who answer to the description of that people by the Persian historian. Both sexes go quite naked. The women I did not see ; but I recollect having heard that when seen by strangers, they folded their arms across their breasts, and were regardless of what else was exposed." From a letter by Col. Dalton.

The illustrations to Col. Dalton's 'Ethnology of Bengal' and the specimens of Nágá dress in our museum, show that the boar's tusks mentioned below are a very common ornament for caps. They also protect the head.

The Rájah had, therefore, fled with the Phúkans to Námrúp.* This Námrúp may be called a part of hell. It lies in the hollow of three high ridges, aud its climate is worse than that of the well of Babel. The Asamese say, "if a bird flies over it, bats will yield their lives, and if steel enters the ground, it turns to wax." The Rájahs used to banish to Námrúp those whom their sword had spared.

There is only one road in the country† along which a horse can pass, and this road leads to Batám (بتام),‡ north of Ghargáon. The beginning of this road leads for half a *kos* through a jungle so dense that you can scarcely 'think' yourself through it. Afterwards comes a pass extending for five or six *kos* full of stones and mud, two high mountains being on either side. There some of the rebellious people of the southern mountains under the Bargosáín [principal noble] had established themselves, whilst the Phúkans with a great number of men had encamped on an 'island' between the Brahmáputra and the Dihing River.

About this time it rained for three days and nights, and living in tents was impossible. The intention of the Nawáb was to spend the rainy season in Lak'húgar; but the Mutaçaddís reported that there would be no time to transport the conquered material, and secondly, the wild elephants could not well be brought to move properly. In any case, it was clear that it would be impossible to reach Lak'úgar before the commencement of the rains.

It was, therefore, resolved to move to Mat'hurápúr, which lies 3½ *kos* beyond Ghargáon at the foot of a mountain, towards the south-east. A party was left behind in Ghargáon. The author also stayed behind for reasons which are not explained. A great number of guns were sent on to Jahángírnagar. The Nawáb had also rupees and pice struck with the name of his Majesty on them. Mír Murtazá in Ghargáon was to take charge of all such stores as were to be kept and sent on to Jahángírnagar; Miyánah Khán was sent to Mauza' Salháṭí,§ which lies at the foot of the hills, south of Ghargáon, and was held by the Bargosáín and other accursed people; Ghází Khán was sent as thánahdár to Mauza' Deopání,|| between Ghargáon and Salháṭí; and Jalál Khán of Daryábád was to guard the Dihing River.

* Námrúp is the most eastern part of A'sám and scarcely known. Vansittart in his translation confounds it with Kámrúp (Western A'sám), which he substitutes for it. His *Dhonec* is the 'Dihing.' His *Nanec* are the Nágás.

† This seems to refer to the Ladhiágarh road, which now forms the boundary between the British and Independent Territories.

‡ The name is doubtful. The MSS. have every possible diacritical mark for the word, Niyám, Nipám, Batám, Banám, Biyám, Panám, Patám, &c.

§ For *Salháṭí* the 'A'lamgírnámah has, perhaps correctly, *Salpání.*

|| So the 'A'lamgírnámah (p. 735). The Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah has *Deotání.* But Deopání is evidently the correct name. It still exists, and lies due south of Síbságar, at the foot of the hills, and S. S. W. of Ghargáon. It is now a tea garden in possession

On the 20th Sha'bán, the Nawáb moved to Mat'hurápúr, and Ádam Khán marched eight *kos* farther towards Parganah Abhípúr.* He had repeatedly to fight with the Asamese. The enemies also made night-attacks on Jalál Khán from the other side of the Dihing. But they were every time repelled, and Jalál Khán and his Daryábádí men became objects of terror for the Asamese. Miyánah Khán's position at Salhátí protected the inhabitants of that district. On the whole, the Dak'hinkol was in the hands of the Imperialists, and the inhabitants were satisfied with their condition. The people of Uttarkol also thought of submitting, but fate decreed otherwise.

VIII.

The rains set in.

At the beginning of the rains, the Asamese made a night attack upon 'Alí Rizá, the Thánahdár at Dewalgáon, who was enforced by a detachment, which the Nawáb sent him under Yádgár Khán Uzbak.

A flotilla with provisions sent by Ibn i Husain under the command of Muhammad Murád from Lak'húgar, arrived safely at Ghargáon [up the Dík'ho].

On the 1st Shawwál, an attack was made upon Anwar Beg, Thánahdár of Gajpúr. He and his men were killed. Gajpúr thus fell into the hands of the Asamese, who now made trenches on the other side of the Dihing as far as Lak'húgar, in order to cut off the supplies of the army. Sarandáz Khán Uzbak was at once sent off by the Nawáb to recover Gajpúr. He reached Mauzá' Tík,† beyond which he could not pass without ships on account of the mud in the nálahs. The Nawáb ordered Muhammad Murád to go with several ships to his assistance. But the two commanders could not agree, and on the 14th Shawwál, Sarandáz Khán went back to Tík, and Muhammad Murád pushed forward. He was suddenly attacked at night by the Asamese; his men were in the greatest confusion, and his whole fleet was captured and the sailors were killed. Only a few Afgháns escaped to bring the tale of the disaster to Dewalgáon. The Dihing River in the meantime rose, and the Asamese attacked the Daryábádís at Salhátí, whilst the water that rushed

of the 'Assam Company.' Mr. Foster tells me that according to a native tradition, five Asamese once went up to the hills to make a *pújá* and curse a deity, when a little stream suddenly rose and engulfed them. The little stream was called Deopání.

* On the maps Obeypore, S. E. of Ghargáon. The name is very frequent in the whole district south of Síbságar.

When Aurangzíb received the Nawáb's official reports, he made him a commander of 7000, 7000 horse, 5000 *duaspah sihaspah* troopers, and added to his jágír certain mahalls the revenue of which was 1 kror dáms, or 2½ lacs rupees. *'Álamgírnámah,* p. 741.

† Evidently the Tiok River, 3 miles above Gajpúr. The *'Álamgírnámah* (Bibl. Indica Edition, p. 779) has نیک for تیک.

down the mountain caused the men great inconvenience. Nay, the enemies were even bold enough to shew themselves near Ghargáon, and it required every care on the part of Mír Murtazá to prevent mischief.

Gházi Khán, the Thánahdár of Deopání, who had 20 horse and 50 foot, was attacked by 10 or 12,000 Asamese, under the son of the Bargosáin's brother. Their leader was at the time of the attack far in advance of his men, and encountered Ibráhím Khán, one of Gházi Khán's men, gave his horse a swordcut over the head, and brought Ibráhím down. But jumping up quickly, Ibráhím ran against the leader, threw him on the ground, and finished him with his dagger. The Asamese saw their leader fall, and without coming to his assistance, retreated and watched for a better opportunity.

At this time, the population of Ghargáon, Mat'hurápúr, and Ádam Khán's thánahs commenced to leave their houses at night.

A rumour was also current that Bhím Naráin of Koch Bihár had returned and driven away the Imperialists. The rumour proved in the end to be true. The officer in charge of Koch Bihár, after the Nawáb had left, commenced the *jam'bandí* (financial settlement) of the country; but the people did not understand the new way of assessing them, and dispersed in rebellion; and when the Rájah returned to the foot of the hills, they gathered round him, and attacked and killed Muhammad Çálih, the Officer who, at Kanṭhalbárí, tried to intercept the Rájah. They then cut off the supplies of Isfandiár Khán. The Rájah wrote to him that he should not unnecessarily court danger, and would do better to retreat; and Isfandiár profiting by his advice, retreated to G'horág'háṭ. 'Askar Khán soon followed him.

The Nawáb strengthened Gházi Khán's thánah by a detachment under Abul Hasan, Mírzá Beg's *kháli* (maternal uncle); for the Asamese had thrown up trenches opposite the thánah, and were continually on the alert.

Another detachment under Sayyid Sálár was sent to Ghargáon.

IX.

Farhád Khán marches towards Lak'húgar, and returns safely.

The Nawáb, on hearing the result of Muhammad Murád's expedition, despatched Farhád Khán and Qaráwal Khán with a strong detachment towards Lak'húgar, to keep the roads clear for the supplies. They were also to assist Sarandáz Khán in getting to Gajpúr, and send reinforcements to the thánahs under Mír Núrullah and Muhammad Muqím.

On the 18th Shawwál, [27th May, 1662] Farhád Khán, in spite of a dreadful storm, reached Ghargáon, crossed the same night the Dík'ho, took up Abul Hasan, who was on his way from Deopání to head quarters, and reached with great trouble Mauza' Tik, which lies between Taramhání and Gajpúr. Sarandáz Khán joined the corps. The Asamese made their ap-

pearance in their trenches, and their ships under a renowned Phúkan commenced to fire.

Fighting continued for several days. The Rájpúts of Rájah Subhán Singh distinguished themselves. Forty-one ships captured. Farhád arrived at the thánah of Muhammad Muqím, from whom he heard that the inhabitants of the district had been away for some days, but had just come back with many wounded. Farhád Khán therefore sent Muhammad Múmin Beg into the villages, as it was clear that they had been fighting against him. All males were killed and the women were carried off.

On the 2nd Zí Qa'dah, [9th June, 1662] Farhád Khán returns to the Nawáb. The captured women were let off.

X.

The roads entirely closed. The Thánahs are drawn in.

With the progress of the rains the thánahs had to be drawn in. At the Nawáb's order, Ádam Khán was to leave Abhípúr and join head quarters. The other thánahs were to join the corps at Ghargáon, whilst Sarandáz Khán and Miyánah Khán were to guard the other banks of the Dík'ho. Jalál Khán, Ghází Khán, and Muhammad Muqím, should occupy this side of Dík'ho, and be under Mír Murtazá's orders.

This is done with difficulty. Sarandáz Khán and Miyánah Khán occupy a piece of land surrounded on three sides by the Dík'ho Nálah,* and shut up the fourth side by a strong wall. The whole country is now re-occupied by the Asamese, only Mat'hurápúr and Ghargáon being in the hands of the Imperialists. If a man dared to leave the camp, he was certain to be shot by the Asamese. A similar case never happened before in the history of Dihlí. Here were 12,000 horse and numerous infantry locked in for six months, prevented by the rains from continuing operations, and yet scarcely attacked by the enemies that surrounded them. Nor did during this time provisions arrive. "The Amírs turned their eyes longingly to Dihlí, and the soldiers yearned for their wives and children."

The Asamese were under orders of the Phúkan Bíjdilí, an Asamese Bráhman, whose father had risen from a storekeeper to be a noble. The Rájah himself had come from Námrúp and taken up his abode in Solágorí (سولاگوری),† which in former times had been the capital of the Asamese Rájahs. It lies four stages from Mat'hurápúr and Ghargáon. The Rájah had called up the whole population and placed them at Bíjdilí's disposal. This commander's head quarters were at the Dillí (دلی) River, which issues from

* Evidently the modern Názirah. Mr. Foster tells me that traces of the wall which closed the fourth side still exist.

† Solágorí lies north of Ghargáon on the Dísang. It is often called Húlágorí, according to the interchange of *s* and *h*, above alluded to.

the hills, passes Mat'hurápúr, and flows into the Dihing. It is a dangerous river in the rains, though at other times it is scarcely knee-deep. He had thrown up trenches, and had built a strong wall three *kos* long, one end of the wall extending to a mountain, and the other to the place where the Dillí joins the Dihing. He had also cut every where the banks of the river, and made them so steep, that no man, much less a horse, could get up. He had several times at night attacked Dilír Khán, but was repulsed.

Rájah Subhán Singh drives away the Chárang Rájah who threatened Ghargáon. The Chárangs (چارنگ) are an Asamese tribe living in the southern mountains, and their zamíndár holds from the Rájah of Ásám the title of Rájah.

The author says that it is impossible to relate the minor affairs which almost daily occurred.

Once Phúkan Bíjdilí sent an ambassador to the Nawáb, and asked for cessation of the hostilities. Khwájah Bhor Mall took the Nawáb's answer, which was that he agreed to stop hostilities on receiving five hundred elephants that had still their first teeth; thirty lacs of tolahs of gold and silver as *peshkash ;* a daughter of the Rájah for the harem of his Majesty ; a yearly tribute of fifty elephants with their first teeth ; and lastly, a promise to cede that portion of Ásám over which the Imperialists had passed. The Rájah was to keep Námrúp and the whole of the mountainous districts to himself.

Bhor Mall went, and was received with great honor by the Phúkan, with whom he remained for half a night alone. The Phúkan approved of the articles, and said that should the Rájah not accept them, he would himself come and join the Nawáb.

Bhor Mall returned after two days. But in the meantime the epidemic had broken out, and the Nawáb moved to Ghargáon ; and as the Asamese looked upon this movement as a sign of weakness, Bíjdilí did not come, as he had promised.

XI.

Condition of the army at Ghargáon.

The Asamese in their continual attacks upon Ghargáon had succeeded in burning down several houses of the Rájah and the Phúkans outside the enclosure. On the 7th Zí Qa'dah [14th June, 1662], Farhád Khán, Sayyid Sálár, and Qaráwal Khán had arrived, and Mír Murtazá prepared to protect the town more efficiently. The north-western part of the town being principally subject to attacks, a bamboo fort was erected, of which one end reached as far as the Dík'ho and the other to the northern corner of the palisade of the palace. Many of the inhabitants also, who suffered in the attacks, were transferred by Mír Murtazá inside the enclosure, notably so the inhabitants of Mauza' Cháchní (چاچنی) who were transferred from beyond

the ditch to the north side of the enclosure of the Rájah's palace. In one night attack, the Asamese entered the bamboo fort, and occupied half of Ghargáon. The confusion was extreme, as Mír Murtazá could not find out where the enemies chiefly were, when an Asamese set fire to the large chhappars of the Rájah's palace, and the dark night became clear as day.

Account of how they were repulsed. Farhád Khán wounded in the hand. Further immediate fortifications. The night attacks continue without interruption. The Dillí Nálah and the Dándká* Nálah, which flows into the Dihing about one *kos* north-east of Ghargáon, were especially attacked by the Asamese. The Dándká Nálah had a bridge which allowed communications to go on between Ghargáon and Mat'hurápúr. One night the Asamese broke it up; but it was immediately rebuilt and guarded day and night. Several store-houses were burnt by the enemies.

Detailed description of a general night attack on Ghargáon on the 5th Zí Hajjah [12th July, 1662]. Repulsed with great difficulties.

The enemies cross the Dillí, and throw up a trench on the Kákúján Nálah, which flows between the Dillí and the Dándká.

Renewed night attack on the 8th Zil Hajjah [15th July]. Farhád Khán's wounds did not allow him any longer to remain in command, and he repeatedly asked the Nawáb to relieve him. Rashíd Khán arrived on the 11th with reinforcements. Farhád went next day to Mat'hurápúr. Daily attacks. On the 16th [23rd July], Rashíd Khán succeeds in taking the trenches on the Kákúján Nálah, and 170 prisoners are taken whom the author takes the next day to the Nawáb, who sent them back. The chiefs among them were fettered and the others impaled on the Dándká Nálah.

XII.

Affairs in Lak'húgar. Condition of the fleet.

When Anwar Beg, the Thánahdár of Gajpúr, had been killed, Ibn i Husain despatched a flotilla under 'Alí Beg to take Gajpúr and destroy the fort which the Asamese had erected. 'Alí Beg went, but as he was not immediately successful, he encamped the night outside the fort, his ships anchoring at Bánsbárí, which lies between Dewalgáon and Gajpúr. A few ships were taken from the enemies, among them several of Muhammad Murád's ships. Yádgár Khán moves from Dewalgáon, and joins Ibn i Husain at Lak'húgar, who fortifies his camp. Repeated attacks on Sulángar on the part of the Imperialists. Demonstration of the people in favour of the invaders.

On the 7th Muharram, 1073 [12th August, 1662], Sayyid Naçíruddín Khán died. Several attacks repulsed. The Bargosáin brought in. Yádgár

* The Bibl. Ind. Edit. of the *'Alamgírnámah* has 'Dándkálah Nálah.

Khán again occupies Dewalgáon. A report of his success was sent to the Nawáb, who received it in the beginning of Çafar [September, 1662] at Ghargáon.

XIII.

Epidemic at Ghargáon and Mat'hurápúr. Return of the Nawáb.

Mat'hurápúr lies high and was properly speaking an excellent place for an encampment. But it was soon found that the air of the surrounding jungles and the water from the mountain itself were unhealthy. The mountain is called 'Jur Parbat,' which in Asamese means 'fever mountain.' The men soon suffered from severe fever, and the casualties became numerous. Thus in the beginning of the war, Dilír Khán's detachment consisted of nearly 1500 horse; but at the end of the rains and his expedition to Námrúp, he only mustered between 4 and 500. Of the people also an unusual number died, and Bhor Mall had heard from Phúkan Bíjdilí that the present year was exceptionally unfavourable to all. Food, though it was not scarce, was limited to a few things, and some articles were only to be had at fabulous prices. Thus butter sold at 14 Rupees *per ser; másh*, 1 *R.*; opium *per tolah*, 1 gold muhur; 1 *chillum* of tobacco, 3 *Rs.*; *dálmúng*, 10 *Rs. per ser;* salt, 30 *Rs. per ser*. The only thing the army had was *shálí*. Many horses died.

It was altogether an extraordinary year, and famine even raged in Jahángírnagar.

The Nawáb, therefore, found it necessary to leave Mat'hurápúr, and marched on the 12th Muharram, 1073, [17th August, 1662] to Ghargáon. One fourth of the stores of shálí, for want of conveyance, had to be left behind. Many wounded and sick people were also left in Mat'hurápúr, and it has never become known what their fate was, when the Asamese occupied the place. Several guns also stuck in the mud,* the cows that pulled them having no strength from want of food. At night, the Nawáb stayed at a house belonging to the Rájah, one *kos* from Ghargáon, and Dilír Khán who commanded the rear, was ordered to look after the guns, as the Nawáb had resolved to wait where he was till all the guns had been brought up. The rain was fearful. Dilír Khán told the Nawáb that he would look after everything, and on the 13th Muharram, the Nawáb entered Ghargáon. Immediate attacks of the Asamese followed. In Ghargáon also coarse red

* Mr. Foster writes from Názirah—There are numerous large iron guns in the neighbourhood. One seven miles from here is 18′ 6″ long, 6½″ bore, and has 4 trunnions. There are three 14′ guns within a quarter mile of my bungalow. They will be lost in the River Dík'ho next wet season, being only some 15 feet from the bank which is rapidly cutting away. I think they must have been left by the Mughul army, when it retreated in 1663.

rice, without salt, and limes were the only things that could be had, and fever and dysentery soon raged as bad as in Mat'hurápúr. Muhammad Múmin of Tabríz, the Wáqi'ahnawís, died.

A bridge which the Imperialists had made over the Dík'ho, was torn away by the current, but was at last built again.

XIV.

A change for the better.

The rains ceased about the middle of Çafar [end of September, 1662]. Makrdhaj, Rájah of Durang, had died in Mat'hurápúr, and his mother who held the reigns of the government during his absence, favoured the Imperialists, and placed men at the disposal of the Faujdár of Gawáhaṭṭí. Communications now became easier. On the 21st Rabí' I. [24th October, 1662], the first supplies arrived by land, and on the 28th, the ships with the provisions landed at Ghargáon.

The Asamese gradually withdrew, and the Rájah went to Solágorí, and then back to Námrúp. Bíjdilí and Karkumbá, the two principal Phúkans, were intrenched on the Dillí River, and Bíjdilí sent again an ambassador expressing his willingness to conclude peace, should the Imperialists withdraw from the country. But his offers were not listened to.

About this time orders came from court in which Ihtishám Khán was appointed Governor of Ásám and Rashíd Khán Faujdár of Kámrúp. The latter refused on account of the unhealthiness of the climate, and Ihtishám Khán also begged to be excused.

On the 8th Rabí' II. [10th November, 1662], Abul Hasan was ordered to take back the provision ships to Taramhání, and then to take the entrenchments of Bíjdilí in the rear. Qaráwal Khán was to accompany him.

XV.

The Nawáb takes the offensive. Pursuit of the Rájah.

Abul Hasan succeeds in destroying some entrenchments held by the Asamese, and set out for Bíjdilí's trenches, whilst the Nawáb, too, marches towards the Dihing to support him. But Bíjdilí withdrew. The Nawáb reaches the Dihing. Has a fainting fit. Badlí Phúkan pays his respects with his three brothers. The defection of the Phúkans alarmed the Rájah, and as he had been dissatisfied with Bíjdilí's operations, he killed him and his whole family, males and females. Numerous letters also arrived from the Rájah and the Phúkans, but the Nawáb paid no attention to them.

Badlí Phúkan submits a plan how to hunt down the Rájah, and with the Nawáb's permission collects between three and four thousand fighting men, and is appointed Çúbahdár of the country between Ghargáon and Námrúp.

Numerous requests to conclude peace arrive from the Rájah, but the Nawáb pays no attention to them. An unwelcome news also reaches the camp, that in consequence of the famine in Bengal no rice had been sent, and Ibn i Husain had put his sailors on short rations. The Nawáb sent off 12000 maunds of *sháli* to Lak'húgar.

At Badlí Phúkan's advice, the Nawáb, on the 1st Jumáda I. [1st December, 1662], sent a detachment under Darwísh Beg to Solágorí, where several Phúkans and a number of elephants were reported to be. Badlí Phúkan acompanies Darwísh, and they reach Solágori on the 6th. The Nawáb himself crosses the Dihing on the 7th [7th December]. On the 9th, he has an attack of fever and severe pain in the chest. Hakím Karímá of Gílán attends him. But though sick, he determined to follow the Rájah to Námrúp. But many of his officers and the men showed signs of dissatisfaction, and it was reported to the Nawáb that large numbers would march away, if he did not return, as the men would not pass another rainy season in Ásám, much less in Námrúp. The Nawáb got so annoyed, that his illness became worse; but on the 14th [14th December], he broke up, and marched one stage further on to Batám.* On account of his sickness he travelled by pálkí. Batám belongs to Ásám, and the zamíndár holds the title of Rájah. It lies on the outskirt of the Námrúp jungles.

The Rájah in the meantime renews his applications for peace, and asks Dilír Khán to intercede on his behalf with the Nawab.

XVI.

Conclusion of Peace. Return of the Army to Bengal.

Illness forced the Nawáb to listen to the proposals of peace. Bhor Mall was again employed to confer with the Phúkans, and the following conditions were agreed upon—

1. The Rájahs of Ásám and Batám should each send one of their daughters to the imperial harem.

2. Each should pay 20,000 *tolahs* of gold, and 120,000 *tolahs* of silver.

3. Fifteen elephants to be sent to the Emperor; fifteen to the Nawáb, and five to Dilír Khán.

4. Within the next twelve months 3 lacs *tolahs* of silver and 90 elephants to be sent as tribute to Bengal, in three four-monthly instalments.

5. Twenty elephants to be furnished annually.

6. The sons of Búdh Gosáin, Karkas-há, Bar Gosáin, Prabatar, the four principal Phúkans of the Rájah, to remain as hostages with the Nawáb, till the fulfilment of the conditions in para. 4.

* Or Patám. I have not identified this place; in fact there are no maps available. *Vide* p. 85, third note.

7. The following districts to be ceded to his Majesty the Emperor—

A. In the Uttarkol.

(*a.*) Sirkár Durang, bounded by Gawáhaṭṭí on one side, and by the Álí Burárí,* which passes Fort Chamdhurah, on the other side.

B. In the Dak'hinkol.

(*a.*) The district of Nakíráni (نکی رانی).†

(*b.*) The Nágá Hills.

(*c.*) Beltalí (بیلتلی)

(*d.*) Dúmuriah (دومریه).

8. All inhabitants of Kámrúp kept as prisoners by the Rájah in the hills and in Námrúp to be restored; so also the family of Badli Phúkan.

The districts of the Dak'hinkol that were ceded, have at no previous time formed part of his Majesty's empire. Nakíráni [Deshrání] lies near the Gáro Hills. The Gáros are a wild tribe excessively fond of dog's flesh.‡ If a dog sees a Gáro, it will instinctively howl and run away. Their hills are also near Karíbárí, which belongs to the empire.

Dúmuriah extends as far as the Kulang River, which flows at the foot of Fort Kajlí. Hence as the Álí Burárí forms the boundary between the empire and Ásám in the Uttarkol, so does the Kulang form the boundary in the Dak'hinkol.

Durang is a country full of wild elephants and k'hedahs for catching them. Once Jaidhaj captured no less than one hundred and twenty elephants. In the territory of the Rájah of Dúmuriah elephants were formerly found. It borders on Kachhár, from which the elephants used to come into Dúmuriah; but the Kachhár Rájah having put a stop to the migrations of the elephants, no k'hedahs are now-a-days found in the Dúmuriah.

The above conditions of peace were accepted, and the treaty was mutually signed. After some delay caused by an attempt at cheating in the hostages, the Rájah sent, on the 5th Jumáda II., [4th January, 1663] his daughter, the gold and silver, ten elephants, and the hostages to the Nawáb, and promised to send thirty elephants more to Lak'húgar. The gold and silver was put into the treasury, the hostages were given to Dilír Khán to take charge of, and the

* Called on the map Bhor-allí, or Bhoreli. It flows near Tezpúr and the Kamakhya Temple, Central Ásám.

† *Vide* p. 76, last note. It seems to be the same as Deshrání, because Deshrání, Desh Dúmuriah, and Desh Beltalah are mentioned together. They belong to Thánah Gawáhaṭṭí, and lie south of it. *Vide* also Robinson's Asam, p. 289.

By "Nágá Hills" the Mikir and Rengmah Nágá hills appear to be meant.

‡ Most of the wild Asamese tribes eat dogs. The custom is to hang up the dog and force large quantities of boiled rice down its throat. When it is swollen up, it is suspended over a fire and slowly roasted. The rice is said to be "delicious."

Rájah's daughter was provided a place in the Nawáb's harem. On the 9th Jumáda II., eleven elephants were brought in.

The order to return to Bengal was given on the 10th Jumáda II., [9th January, 1663], to the intense joy of all. The Nawáb had still to travel in palkí; he did not march over Ghargáon, but went straight to Taramhání, where the prisoners, whom the Rájah had detained in Námrúp, and Badlí Phúkan's family arrived.

XVII.

Arrival at La'khúgar. Distress during the retreat. March over Barítalah to Khizrpúr. Death of the Nawáb.

On the 26th Jumáda II., [25th January, 1663] the Nawáb left Dewalgáon for Lak'húgar. His health daily improved. Mír Murtazá brought all stores from Ghargáon, and twenty-five elephants arrived which the Rájah had sent. Many people, males and females, followed the army, happy to find thus a means of leaving Ásám.

The Nawáb had resolved to go to Gawáhaṭṭí, settle financial matters, and then to march against Koch Bihár. He, therefore, embarked with the hostages at Lak'húgar, sending the principal part of the army *viá* the Dak'hinkol to Barítalah where they should cross the Brahmáputra. On the 1st Rajab [29th January], he left Lak'húgar, inspected on his road portions of Dúmuriah, now annexed, and passed in palkí over the Kajlí plain, where never before an army had passed. On the first and the second days, he travelled eight *kos* daily; on the third, fourteen; on the fourth, twelve. He then passed the Kulang river and then Fort Kajlí. *During these four days, the men lived on water and the animals on grass.* At Kajlí, the Nawáb rested a few days. The mother and the son of Makr Dhaj, Rájah of Durang, who had lately died, waited on the Nawáb. The Rájah of Dúmuriah was also expected. But his brother's son only came, and, soon after, the Rájah's mother.

Here the Nawáb had a relapse, which ended in asthma, and the hasty way in which he proceeded from remedy to remedy, made him only worse.

In the evening of 11th, [7th February, 1663] the same day on which the mother of the Rájah of Dúmuriah had come, tremendous lightning and thunder frightened the army, and immediately afterwards, a strong earthquake was felt which shook all, whether they were sitting or standing, reclining or sleeping. The shocks continued for half an hour.

On the 13th [9th February], the Nawáb left Kajlí, and arrived at Pándú, which lies opposite to Gawáhaṭṭí. Muhammad Beg, Faujdár of Gawáhaṭṭí reported the capture of eighty-four Durang elephants in the k'hedahs. The Nawáb recommended to him the mother and the son of the late

Rájah of Durang, and the mother of the Rájah of Dúmuriah, and dismissed them to their homes. Badlí Phúkan was to have a Parganah in Bengal, with a revenue of 3000 Rs. On the 14th, Dilír Khán arrived from Lak'húgar, bringing eight more elephants with him.

Rashíd Khán, who had formerly declined the office of Faujdár of Kámrúp, received from his Majesty a reprimand. He now accepted the office, and was appointed to it by the Nawáb. Muhammad Beg, the former Faujdár of Gawáhaṭṭí, who was a servant of the Nawáb, was appointed Thánahdár of Kajlí, under Rashíd Khán.

The Nawáb, though very ill, settled several financial matters of great importance, and left Gawáhaṭṭí on the 26th Rajab [22nd February, 1663]. On the last of the month, he reached Barítalah, where the Koch Bihár detachment joined him. Here the Nawáb's condition got much worse, the fainting fits came on oftener, and Hakím Zahírá Ardistání was sent for from Húglí, and Mírzá Muhammad from Akbarnagar.

Description of the diagnosis of each doctor. The men commonly believed that the sickness was the result of witchcraft practised by the Rájah of Ásám. The doctors recommended the Nawáb to go to Khizrpúr. On the 26th Sha'bán, he appoints 'Askar Khán to renew operations against Koch Bihár.

The Nawáb died on board the barge on Wednesday, the 2nd Ramazán, 1073 [30th March, 1663], half an hour before sunset, two *kos* above Khizrpúr.* The *táríkh* of his death is مسندآرای بهشت, or 'occupant of paradise,' A. H. 1073. Dilír Khán and Ihtishám Khán buried the body the next day at Khizrpúr, in a vault which the Nawáb had given orders to build after leaving for Ásám. According to his last wish, his body was to be taken to Najaf, and buried in holy ground. News of his death was at once sent to court and to his son Muhammad Amín Khán.

* Neither Rennel's Map of the 'Environs of Dacca' in 1778 (Map xii, of the Bengal Atlas), nor the Survey Maps help us to identify Khizrpúr, and I addressed Dr. James Wise, of Dháká, who is so well known for his researches in the local history of the District, regarding the geographical position of the place. He kindly sent me the following reply—

"Naráinganj, eight miles S. E. of Dacca, is in a parganah called Khizrpúr. It is bounded by the Dacca river, the Burha Ganga. This situation corresponds with that of the historical Khizrpúr, which was on the banks of the Ganges. A tomb, said to be that of one of Sháistah Khán's daughters, is called by the Muhammadans of the present day the 'Khizrpúr Maqbarah.' It is strange that the tomb of such a great man as Mír Jumlah should not exist."

The *Maásir ul Umará* does not record whether the body was taken to Najaf (Mashhad, in Khurásán). It is said that many towns in Talingánah contain buildings erected by the Nawáb, and in Haidarábád there is a tank, a villa, and a palace, still bearing his name.

Events after 1663.

With the death of the Nawáb the *Fathiyah i 'Ibriyah* ends. The news of his death reached Aurangzíb at Láhor, and, according to Bernier, (*vide* above p. 35) was a source of joy for the emperor. The *'Álamgírnámah* says that he was sorry, because Mír Jumlah had been an old servant.

Whether the "ceded" districts of Central Ásám were ever taken actual possession of by the Imperialists, is a matter of doubt. The Ásám Búranji, or Ásám Chronicle, according to Robinson (*loc. cit.*, p. 166), gives a very different version, and says "that Mír Jumlah's army was entirely defeated, and he was obliged to give up the whole of zillah Kámrúp to the Asamese, which was from that time placed under the management of a great Asamese officer, the Bar Phúkan, and formed a government equal to about a third part of the whole kingdom. Jaidhaj Singh died A. D. 1663."

From the following extract from the *'Álamgírnámah* it would certainly appear that Gawáhaṭṭí was the actual frontier of the Mughul empire and Ásám, when Mír Jumlah returned to Bengal, and that the cession of Durang as far as Tezpúr was nominal; but on the other side it is quite clear that Mír Jumlah's retreat was not an absolute defeat. The payments of the money are certainly nowhere recorded by Muhammadan historians; but a part of the elephants did come, and a daughter of the king of Ásám was subsequently married to an Imperial Prince.

Gawáhaṭṭí then was the actual frontier at Mír Jumlah's retreat, and remained so for four years, till the beginning of 1078 A. H., or the very end of A. D. 1667. The re-conquest by the Asamese is the last event recorded in the *'Álamgírnámah* (Bibl. Ind. Edit., p. 1068) as follows—

"At this time [Rajab, 1078, or December, 1667], reports were received by his Majesty from Bengal that the Asamese with a numerous army and a large fleet had attacked Gawáhaṭṭí, *which is the frontier of Bengal.* The Thánahdár, Sayyid Fírúz Khán, could not in time receive assistance. He and most of his men bravely defended themselves, and sacrificed their lives on the path of loyalty (*'ubúdiyat*). His Majesty resolved to punish the Asamese, and appointed Rájah Rám Singh to the command of an imperial corps, which was to be strengthened by troops of the Bengal army. Rájah Rám Singh, on the 21st Rajab 1078, A. H., [27th December, 1667] received as *khal'at* a horse with a gilded saddle and a dagger with a belt adorned with pearls, and was sent to Ásám. Naçírí Khán,* Kisarí Singh Bhúrtiah,† Raghunáth Singh of Mírthah, Bairam Deo Sísaudiah, and other Mançabdárs, with 1500 Ahadís and 500 artillery, accompanied him."

* The *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, p. 65) has *Nuçrat Khán.*

† The *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* has *Kírat Singh Bhúrtiah,* which is clearly the correct reading.

For the subsequent events we have only the *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* to refer to, whose scanty notes are nevertheless of great value. I translate from the edition of this work in the Bibliotheca Indica.

Page 73. "On the first of Zí Hajjah, 1078 [2nd May, 1668], Rahmat Bánú, the daughter of the king of Ásám was married to Prince Muhammad A'zam. Dowry, 180,000 Rupees."

It is not said whether this is the same girl that was taken by Mír Jumlah to Bengal. Her name implies that she had been converted to Islám. It was only Akbar and Jahángír that did not convert their Hindú princesses.

Page 97. "Rájah Rám Singh, who was a commander of 4000, 4000 *duaspah sihaspah* troopers, was promoted to a command of 5000, and his son*

* This Kishn Singh is called grandson (*nabírah*) of Rám Singh on p. 172 of the *Maásir*. It should be *son*. Rám Singh was the son of Jai Singh I, of Ambar (Jaipúr), with whose assistance Aurangzíb had come to the throne. He died at Burhánpúr on the 28th Muharram 1076, or 10th July, 1667. The *'Álamgírnámah* (p. 1051) and the *Maásir i 'Álamgírí* (p. 62) state that he died a natural death, and that his son Rám Singh was immediately made Rájah. Colonel Brooke (*Political History of Jeypore*, p. 14) says, though he does not mention his authority, that Jai Singh was killed by his son Kírat Singh, whom Aurangzíb had promised the succession, and that the Emperor had engaged his services, because he thought Jai Singh too powerful a subject. "The feeling of the country, however, was too strong against the parricide, to allow such a succession to be carried out, and Kírat Singh was obliged to content himself with Kámah, now in the Bhurtpore territory, and which his descendants enjoy to this day; but the parricidal act of their ancestor has for ever excluded them from any chance of succeeding to the Jeypore throne." Kírat Singh certainly was at Burhánpúr, when Jai Singh died. He had in nearly every war served under his father, as, for instance, in the Mew disturbances, after which he received Kámah Pahárí, and Koh-Mujáhid, and was appointed Faujdár of Mewát. Sháhjahán, two years before being disposed, had made him a commander of 1000, and after the wars with Síwá, Aurangzíb gave him a command of 2500. After the death of his father, he was made a commander of 3000, a promotion which does not look like a reward for the great crime imputed to him. Kírat continued to serve in the Dak'hin, and died in the beginning of 1084 (1673, A. D.).

Jai Singh was succeeded by his first-born son, Rám Singh. He had risen under Sháhjahán to the rank of commander of 3000. In the battle of Samogar, he was with Dárá Shikoh, but joined soon afterwards, like his father, the party of Aurungzíb. He served under Muhammad Sultán, in the pursuit of Shujá', and took a part in the capture of Sulaimán Shikoh at Srínagar. Subsequently, he served under his father against Síwá; and when the Bhonsla and his son Sámbá presented themselves at Court, Aurangzíb warned Rám Singh to have a sharp eye on them, and not to let them escape. But they fled (beginning of 1077), and Rám Singh fell into temporary disgrace, and lost his rank. The fact that Jai Singh died soon afterwards may be construed into a suspicion against Kírat Singh. But Rám Singh was immediately restored, received the title of Rájah, and a mançab of 4000. In the same year (1078), he was ordered to Gawáhattí in Ásám. Rám Singh remained in Ásám till the middle of 1086 (1675), his long stay being evidently a punishment. He died soon after. His son

Kishn Singh received a present of a *sarpesh* studded with jewels." End of 1080 A. H., or beginning of A. D. 1670.

Page 154. "On the 22nd Rabí' II., 1087, [24th June, 1676] Rájah Rám Singh returned from Ásám, and paid his respects at court."

Page 173. "On the 29th Muharram, 1090, [1st March, 1679] Shahrukh, a servant of Prince Muhammad A'zam brought a report to court which contained the account of the conquest of Gawáhaṭṭi by his Majesty's troops. The messenger received a reward of Rs. 1000; and a necklace of 91 pearls, valued at 2 lacs of Rupees, and a tassel (*turrah*) studded with jewels, of a value of 25,000 Rupees, were sent to the Prince as presents."

Page 234. Rashíd Khán reported that, according to orders, the Amírul-Umará had been charged with 52 lacs of Rupees on account of expenses incurred in Gawáhaṭṭi. The officer referred to had written to say that the whole expenditure amounted to 7 lacs of Rupees * * * Hence this sum was ordered to be charged."

Page 387. Prince Muhammad 'Azím ['Azím ushshán, son of Bahádur Sháh] was appointed Çúbahdár of Bengal and Faujdár of Koch Bihár." End of 1108, A. H., or middle of 1697, A. D.

This closes my collection of notes on Koch Bihár and Ásám from Muhammadan historians of the 16th and 17th centuries. I have only occasionally referred to *Kháfí Khán* (Ed. Bibl. Indica, II, pp. 130 ff.). He has used the 'Álamgírnámah, in his slovenly way, without the slightest exactness even in his meagre geographical and chronological details. To give an example. He makes the Koch Bihár Rájah flee to an old zamíndár of the country, near whose castle there is a river, over which two chains pass. The chains are fastened to pegs and stems of trees on the opposite banks, and people use the chains as a bridge. Comparing this with the account on p. 68, we see that Kháfí has a wonderful power of combination, whilst the castle is altogether fictitious. He gives Koch Bihár five chaklahs or eighty-nine parganahs, and fixes the revenue at 10 lacs of Naráiní rupees. The *kaserú* root (*Cyperus tuberosus*, Wild) is mentioned as the best remedy for wounds caused by poisoned arrows. He speaks of the breaking of idols in Koch Bihár, and makes the Nawáb build mosques in Símlahgar and Ghargáon, and remit one year's taxes. The circulation of Naráiní rupees in Ásám was forbidden, because the Nawáb coined money with Aurangzíb's name on it. A great deal of silver and gold is found with the assistance of expert treasure-finders, and ten or twelve golden keys and a map of Ásám are sent to court.* He traces the epidemic to bad water; "for the rain

* Kunwar Kishn Singh died when young, of a wound he had received. He had served for some time in Kábul. Vide my essay, entitled 'A Chapter from Muhammadan History,' Calcutta Review, 1870.

falls on many poisonous trees, and when such water runs into rivers or tanks, it renders them poisonous. Again, the wind blows the flowers of poisonous trees into the rivers, and thus makes the water unwholesome. Thus between Khandesh and Súrat, four stages from the latter, there is a river called Sápin, the water of which at the end of the rains is quite poisonous."*

Robinson (Ásám, p. 156) has some notes on Baldeo, or Balit Naráin, as he calls him, and places his death in A. D. 1634. This is certainly too early as his defeat by the Mughuls (*vide* above p. 62) took place in 1637. He does not mention Baldeo's son, Chandr Naráin, but a grandson of the same name, who in 1671 was succeeded by Surja Naráin. He then says that about 1682 the territory of Surja Naráin [Durang and Kámrúp] "were invaded by Munjur Khán, a general of the emperor of Dihlí, when he himself was taken prisoner, and conveyed to the presence of the emperor. Some time after, effecting his escape, he returned to his own dominions; but from a sense of shame, is said to have refused resuming the reins of government." His brother Indra Naráin lost portions of his kingdom to the Ahom kings, and only retained Durang.

I do not know who this "Munjur Khán" can be. The spelling suggests Manzúr Khán (منظورخان), a doubtful name, or Mançúr Kkán (منصورخان). The year 1682 refers to A. H. 1094; but I can find nothing regarding this invasion in Muhammadan historians.

APPENDIX.

Col. J. C. Haughton, C. S. I., Koch Bihár, kindly sent me the following extract from Biswessar's History of Ásám, which may advantageously be compared with the extracts from the Akbarnámah, on pp. 52, 53, 56.

"Rájah Nara Naráin,† having no male issue, determined to appoint his nephew Rag'húdeb successor. When old, however, he had a son, and Rag'húdeb became hopeless. The latter therefore, quitted one day the palace under the pretext of going a hunting; but the Rájah, in order to console him, allotted to him a portion of the *ráj*.‡

"Nara Naráin died after a reign of fifty-six years, and was succeeded by his son Lachmí Naráin.

* The text of Kháfí Khán's history in the Bibl. Indica Edition is very untrustworthy as regards proper nouns. On p. 138, of vol. II., read *Qází Samúi*, for *Qází Tímúr*; p. 142, *Gawáhaṭṭí* for *Korthí*; p. 144, *Símlahgarh* for *Bhímgaṛ*; p. 161, *Gajpúr* for Kachhpúr; p. 163, *Subhán Singh* for *Saján Singh*.

† The 'Bálgosáin' of the Akbarnámah. Rag'húdeb is the 'Pát Kunwar.'

‡ This seems to have caused the division of Koch Bihár and Koch Hájo. Lachmí was thus the first Rájah of Koch Bihár only.

" Rag'húdeb having obtained a portion of his uncle's kingdom, founded the town of Ghelabijaya in Kámrúp, and erected a temple at Hájo in 1583. He died in 1593, and was succeeded by Paríchhat Naráin, who made war on his uncle Lachmí Naráin. Paríchhat went to Delhí, and died at Patna on his way home from Ágrah in 1606.* *Subsequently*, the Muhammadan ruler invaded the kingdom to realize the promised tribute. The Mantri succeeded in obtaining the office of *Qánúngo*.

" At this time the kingdom was divided into four sirkárs. Balit Naráin, brother of Paríchhat, got the Sirkár, east of Dikrai and west of the river Manah. Paríchhat's son, Bijat Naráin, only got the land between the Manah and Sankos. The descendants of Bijat Naráin are known as the Rájahs of Bijni."

The following extract from the family history of the Rájahs of Bijní, I also owe to Col. Haughton's kindness.

" Mahárájah Biswa Singh had two sons. The elder, Nara Naráin Bhúp reigned over that portion of the kingdom which lies between Karatuja and Bihar. The younger, Shukladhaj Bhúp ruled over the country from Bihár to Dikrai. For his impetuosity at time of war, he was called Chílah Rái, ' King Kite.' His son was Rag'húdeb Naráin. The latter had three sons ; one was king of Durang, another ruler over Beltalah, and the eldest, Paríchhat Naráin was Rájah of Bijni. Paríchhat waged war with Lachmí Naráin ; but sorry for having attacked his nearest relation, he turned hermit. He went also to Dihlí with his Díwán, astonished the emperor by his extraordinary talents, received a *khal'at*, and was sent back to his country with a royal guard. But he died at Rájmahall on his way home. The Díwán went back to Dihlí, and was made Qánúngo of Koch Bihár. Paríchhat left a son Chandr Naráin, who enjoyed his father's *ráj*, but did nothing remarkable."* [*Vide* pp. 58 to 60, and Robinson, p. 155.]

* This date is too early.



Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions, No. II.—By H. Blochmann, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

Since the publication, in last year's Journal, of several Arabic and Persian Inscriptions forwarded to the Society during 1871, a few others have been received from Messrs. Wilson, C. S., Badáon; E. Vesey Westmacott, C. S., Dínájpúr; and Dr. J. Wise, Dháká. As these inscriptions are of great interest, I have placed them together, and added a few notes and extracts from the letters which accompanied the rubbings.

They refer to

Dínájpúr, (Gangarámpúr).
Dháká.
Dhámrái, N. of Dháká.
Badáon,
and A'lápúr, East of Badáon.

Gangara'mpu'r, Di'na'jpu'r.

The following four inscriptions were received from Mr. Westmacott C. S., Dínájpúr. They are by no means new, having been mentioned by Buchanan in his 'Historical Description of Dínájpúr' (p. 51), and partly by Mr. Thomas in his 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings' (p. 149); but they are here for the first time given with the text and correct translations. Buchanan says that the chief place in Division Gangarámpúr is Damdamah, the old Dev Koṭ.* "It received its present appellation (which signifies a place of war) from its having been a military station during the early Muhammadan government, as it probably was then on the frontier. * * * The chief officer, under the title of Wazír, seems to have resided on the banks of a very noble tank, which is named Dahal Dig'hí, and has evidently been formed by the Muhammadans: its water being about 4000 feet from east to west, and 1000 from north to south * * * On many different parts, especially towards the north east corner, are heaps of bricks, probably the ruins of the houses that were occupied by the Muhammadan officers. On the centre of the north side is the Dargáh of a saint, named Mullá 'Aṭáuddín, contiguous to which is a small mosque. Both are very ruinous, but a canopy is still suspended over the tomb, which is much frequented as a place of worship, and the faqír has an endowment of 200 bíg'hahs (about 100 acres) of land."

Buchanan then mentions five inscriptions belonging to the tomb and the mosque.

* Mentioned several times in the *Ṭabaqát i Náçirí* and in Dowson's edition of Elliot's Historians, II, pp. 313, 314, ff.

First.—One over the gate of the mosque, "by Wazír Shair Musaur of "Mozofurabad, commander of the troops of Firuzabad, in the reign of "Hoseyn Shah, Sultan of Hostina, son of Mozofur Shah, A. H. 718." His date and names are wrong; *vide* p. 106, inscription III.

Secondly.—One under the former, stating that the Gumbuz [vault] of the tomb had been erected "by Sekandar Shah, son of Majahud Shah, son of Ayas Shah, A. H. 765." These readings will be found corrected below; *vide* inscription II, p. 104.

Thirdly.—One in the wing of the mosque, mentioning "Futeh Shah, son of Mahmud Shah, A. H. 845." I have not seen this inscription; but the year is wrong. Mr. Westmacott says that the wall on which the inscription was, has fallen down.

Fourthly.—An inscription stating that "a part of the mosque, called "Hamada [?] was built in the reign of Ky Kaos Shah, by order of Sakandar "Sani, or the 2nd, A. H. 872." This is the famous Kai Káús inscription, No. I, below.

Fifthly.—An inscription "over the door of an apartment used as a kitchen by faqirs, to the right of the mosque, on which Makhdum Mulla and Muzaffar Shah are mentioned. The date is no longer visible." *Vide* p. 107, No. IV.

I shall now give the text and translation of the inscriptions from the rubbings which Mr. Westmacott forwarded to the Society.

I. *The Gangarámpúr Kai Káús Inscription.*

بنی هذه العمارة المسجد فی عهد السّلطان (*sic*) السّلاطین رکن الدّنیا
و الدّین ظلّ اللّه فی الارضین کیکاوس شاه بن محمود بن السّلطان یمین خلیفة
اللّه ناصر امیر المومنین خلّد اللّه ملکه و سلطانه بفرمان خسرو زمان شهاب
الحق و الدّین سکندر ثانی الغ اعظم همایون ظفر خان بهرام ایتگین سلطانی
خلّد اللّه ملکه و سلطانه و مدّ اللّه عمره بتولیت صلاح جیوند ملتانی فی
الغرّة من المحرّم شهور سنه سبع و تسعین و ستّمائة ||

This mosque was built during the reign of the king of kings, **Rukn uddunyá waddín**, the shadow of God on earth, **Kai Káús Sháh**, son of Mahmúd, son of the Sultán, the right hand of the Khalífah of God, the helper of the Commander of the Faithful—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom!—at the order of the Lord of the age, by **Shiháb ulhaqq waddín**, a second Alexander, the Ulugh i A'zam Humáyún, **Zafar Khán Bahrám Ítgín**—may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom and

may God prolong his life!—under the supervision *(batauliyat)** of Saláh Jíwand of Multán. On the 1st Muharram, 697, A. H. [19th October, 1297].

As mentioned above, this inscription is quoted by Mr. Thomas in his 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings,' p. 140, where a "rough" translation by Col. Nassau Lees is given. The 'translation' leaves out the name of the builder, and wrongly puts his titles in apposition to the words *Khusrawe zamán*. The absence of a facsimile has led Mr. Thomas to state that Kai Káús confessed allegiance to 'Aláuddín of Dihlí, who is the Sikandar ușșání *par excellence;* but the grammatical construction of the sentence, *and the idiom*, shew that the words 'Sikandar ușșání, Ulugh i A'zam Humáyún, and Zafar Khán', are merely titles of Bahrám I'tgín. He must have been a Malik of high rank, as the titles are high; but my Tribení inscriptions (Journal, 1870) and Mr. Broadley's Bihár inscriptions, (about to be published in this volume) give Maliks not only similar titles, but also the phrase 'May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom,' and even *Julús* names, if I may say so. 'Shiháb ul Haq waddín', therefore, is merely the *julús* name of Malik Zafar Khán, and shews, moreover, that the 'Sikandar ușșání,' cannot be 'Aláuddín, whose full *julús* name, with the *kunyah*, was 'Aláuddín *Abulmuzaffar* Muhammad Sháh.

Observe also that when names and titles are given, the titles are generally put first and then the name, and the idiom requires that the word *humáyún* be taken to *Ulugh i A'zam*, not to *Zafar Khán*.

I'tgín is Turkish and means 'proprietor.' It also occurs as name; *e. g.*, in the list of the grandees of Balban's Court (*Táríkh Baraní*, p. 24, last line).

The Arabic style of the inscription is bad, as in all Bengal inscriptions. The words محمود بن السلطان are slightly doubtful, the rubbing merely giving محمودن السلطان. I am not satisfied with my reading of the name of the supervisor; 'Jíwand' is unusual; but 'Jíwan,' without the final *d*, is very common.

II. *The Inscription on the Dargáh of the Mauláná 'Aṭá.*

Buchanan calls him 'Aṭáuddín, which is perhaps a mistake for 'Aṭáullah. The inscription is half poetry, half verse.

درین گنبد که بنیاد عطائیست * عمارت خانهٔ کونین بادا

ملایک بر بنایش خوانده تا حشر * بنینا فوقکم سبعا شدادا

بعنایت هفت ایوان بدیع گر الّذی خلق سبع السّموات طباقا تقدّست *

* The same phrase occurs in the Arabic inscription on the wall of a Jain Temple near Ajmír, of A. H. 666; vide Journal for 1848, p. 553.

اسمارهٔ باتمام رسید گنبد رفیع که نسخهٔ ایست از تختهٔ سقف جلال و لقد
زیّنّا سماء الدّنیا بمصابیح در روضهٔ متبرّک قطب الاولیاء وحید المحقّقین
سراج الحق و الشّرع و الدّین مولانا عطا عطاه اللّه تعالی فضیلته فی الدّارین
با الامر (*sic*) صاحب العهد و الزّمان باعث العدل و الاحسان حامی
البلاد و راعی العباد السّلطان العادل العالم الاعظم ظلّ اللّه فی العالم
المخصوص بعنایة الرّحمن ابوالمجاهد سکندرشاه بن الیاس شاه السّلطان
خلّد اللّه ملکه *

بادشاه جهان سکندر شاه * که بنامش دُر دعا سفتند
نوّر اللّه شانـــه خواندند * خلّد اللّه ملکه گفتنـــد

فی تاریخ سنه خمس و ستّین وسبعمایة * عمل بندهٔ درگاه غیاث زرّین دست

[Poetry, metre short *Hazaj*]. In this dome, which was founded by 'Aṭá—may the building be a house for both worlds!—angels sing on account of its erection till the day of judgment, "*Banainá fauqakum sab'an shidádá.*"*

[Prose.] Through the grace of the maker of the wonderful seven palaces, "who has created the seven heavens one above the other"—his names be praised!—the building of this lofty dome was completed. It is a copy of the dais of the vault of glory. And "we have adorned the heaven of the world with lights" in the blessed shrine of the pole of saints, the unequalled among enquirers, the lamp of truth, and law, and faith, Mauláná 'Aṭá—may God Almighty bestow His grace upon him in both worlds! [The building was completed] by order of the Lord of the age and the period, the causer of justice and liberality, the guardian of countries, the pastor of the people, the just, wise, and great king, the shadow of God on earth, distinguished by the grace of the Merciful, Abul Mujáhid Sikandar Sháh, son of Ilyás Sháh, the king, may God perpetuate his kingdom!

[Poetry, metre *Khafíf*]. The king of the world, Sikandar Sháh, for whom people string pearls in prayer, and chant, 'May God illuminate his worth,' and say, 'May God perpetuate his kingdom.'

Dated, A. H. 765 [A. D., 1363]. Done by the slave of the throne, Ghiás, the golden-handed.

The inscription measures about 5 feet by 1½ foot. The characters are beautifully drawn. Ghiás, the 'golden-handed' (*zarríndast*) was evidently the Court Kátib of Sikandar Sháh; his title reminds us of the *zarrín-qalams* and *mishkín qalams* of later times. Even in point of style, the inscription is one

* A metrical passage from the Qorán, LXXVIII, 12, "We have built over you seven (heavens), firm ones."

of the best among Bengal inscriptions of the 8th century of the Hijrah, that I have seen. The text spells *bádisháh*, instead of *pádisháh;* if this be not accidental, we would have here a proof shewing that the Indian pronunciation of this word is of old standing.

III. *Rukn Khán's Mosque.*

بنی هذا المسجد و المنارة خانعاظم رکنخان علاءالدین السرهتی
شرابدار غیرمحلی و وزیر شهر مشهور بظفرآباد و سرلشکر و کوتوال بک اعلی
شهر مشهور فیروزآباد و منصف دیوان کتوب الشهر المذکور فی عهد علاء الدنیا
و الدین ابوالمظفر حسین شاه سلطان الحسینی پیش در شیخ المشایخ
شیخ عطاء هرکه این خیر مذکورین را تازه دارد خدای تعالی او را تازه دارد
و نزدیک شیخ مقبول گردد سنه ثمان عشر و تسعمایه

This mosque and the minaret were built by the Khán i 'Azim Rukn Khán, [son of] 'Aláuddín of Sarhat, cup-bearer out of the palace, Vazír of the town known as Zafarábád, Commander-in-chief, High Koṭwál of the town known as Fírúzábád, Munçif of the Díwán of books in the town mentioned, during the reign of 'Alá ud dunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, a descendant of the prophet, in front of the door of the Shaikh of Shaikhs, Shaikh 'Aṭá. He who keeps up and renews this pious grant, will be renewed by God, and will find favor with the Shaikh. A. H., 918 [A. D., 1512].

Rukn Khán united many offices in his person; but the titles are not quite clear. I am not quite sure whether I have correctly translated the words *Sharábdár i ghair-mahallí*. One of General Cunningham's Husain Sháhí inscriptions from Sunnárgáon gives a similar title, '*jámadár i ghair-mahallí*', 'keeper of the wardrobe outside the palace.'

Rukn is called 'Sarhatí,' perhaps from Sarhat in Bírbhúm. In my paper on the Tribení Inscriptions (Journal, 1870, p. 284), the same man evidently is mentioned; but he is there called "Rukn Khán, *son* of 'Aláuddín of Sirhat," and we have no doubt to put here an Izáfat after رکن خان, which is used in Persian, when بن is omitted. We are also enabled to fix the date of the Tribení inscription, which (*loc. cit.*, p. 285) I referred, as I now see erroneously, to the end of the 7th century of the Hijrah.

Fírúzábád appears to be the same as Paṇḍuah, the 'Purroa' of our maps, near Máldah. I am more doubtful about Zafarábád, unless it refers to the same as is mentioned by Badáoní, I, p. 246.

IV. *Muzaffar Sháh's Inscription.*

بني هذه العمارة المسجد فی عهد المخدوم المشهور قطب اوليا مخدوم

مولانا عطا طيّب الله ثرا (*sic*) و جعل الجنّة مثواه فی عهد شمس الدّنيا

و الدّين ابو المعين مظفّرشاه سلطان خلّد الله ملکه و سلطنته فی * * *

This mosque was built in the time (*fí 'ahd, ?*) of the renowned saint, Mauláná 'Aṭá—may God give him affluence and may He make paradise his dwelling place!—during the reign (*fí 'ahd*) of Shamsuddunyá waddín Abul Mu'ín Muzaffar Sháh, the king, may God perpetuate his rule and kingdom! In the year (not legible).*

The first *fí 'ahd* is unintelligible to me, as 'Aṭá lived before Sikandar Sháh. The inscription, though the year is unclear, is of some value, as it gives the full name of Muzaffar Sháh.

Dha'ka'.

The following inscriptions were received from Dr. James Wise, of Dháká, together with copious notes.

The Inscription on Khwájah Jahán's Mosque.

Dr. Wise says—

"The mosque from which this inscription is taken is a very insignificant building in a Mahallah of Dháká, called 'Chúríhaṭṭah.' The building looks old, and curious to say, the three doors of entrance are not arched, but square. They are little over five feet in height; hence it is probable that the ground outside has been raised. Its history is unknown. The only name by which it is known, is the 'Masjid of Bholá Khán,' a former *Khádim.* The slab has evidently been removed from some older mosque and city to Dháká. It is a curious thing that General Cunningham and I found no inscription at Sunnárgáon earlier than A. H. 888."

I have not been able to decipher the whole inscription, a few words before the date being illegible.

قال الله تعالی و انّ المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدا استحکم

هذا الباب فی ايّام خلافة الخليفة المستعان ناصر الدّنيا و الدّين ابو المظفّر

محمود شاه السّلطان خلّد ملکه الخان المخاطب بخطاب خواجه جهان

حماه عن الآفات الرّحمن فی الاقليم * * * الله الی يوم التّناد و * * کان

* The date was already at Buchanan's time illegible. It looks as if it was 'Rajab, 902.'

فی عشرین من شعبان سنة ثلث و ستین و ثمانمایه من هجرة نبی
صلی الله علیه و آله اجمعین

God says, 'Surely the mosques belong to God. Worship no one else besides God [Qorán, LXXII, 18].

This entrance was firmly erected* during the days of the reign of the Khalífah of God, Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king, by the Khán whose title is Khwájah Jahán—may the Merciful protect him from all misfortunes on earth, * * * to the day of resurrection! Dated, 20th Sha'bán, 863, [13th June, 1459, A. D.] of the era of the Prophet,—may God bless him and all his family!

This inscription is, I believe, the first of Mahmúd Sháh that has been published. It is, therefore, of particular value. The year 863 is remarkable, and it looks as if during the long reign of Náçir Sháh, or Husain Sháh I., as he ought to be called, Mahmúd Sháh had reigned as opposition king. Mahmúd's reign must have been of precarious tenure, as he was opposed by his son Bárbak Sháh, whom my *Tribení* inscriptions mention as reigning king in 860.

Dr. Wise's inscription give Mahmúd's full name *Náçiruddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh*. This may explain the fact that Bengal Histories call Bárbak Sháh 'the son of Naçir Sháh'; for confusions of names and *julús* names are common in Bengal History; *vide* Journal, 1870, p. 296.

It may be that the Khán Khwájah Jahán mentioned in this inscription, is the same as the Khán Jahán, whose tomb is at Bágerhát.† A description of his tomb was given by Bábú Gaur Dás Baisák, in the Journal of this Society, for 1867, pp. 130, 131. On p. 135, *loc. cit.*, the Bábú gives the inscriptions‡ attached to the tomb, from which it appears that Khán Jahán died in the end of Zil Hajjah, 863 [end of October, 1459, A. D.]—the same year, which is mentioned in the above inscription. The Bágherhát inscriptions mention, unfortunately, no king.

* The writer uses استحکم as a transitive verb, for which construction there seems to be no authority.

† Bábú Gaur Dás Baisák derives the name of Bágerhát (باغیرهات) from the Persian باغ, and explains *Bágher-hát* by 'garden fair.' I cannot say whether this is correct; Muhammadans pronounce باقرهات, *Báqir-hát*, from some Muhammadan of the name of *Báqir*.

‡ The Arabic inscription (A.) given by the Bábú contains several misprints. His inscription E. is a curious specimen in point of metre, as it is eight times مستفعلن although the Rajaz i musamman i sálim (*vide* my Prosody of the Persian, p. 34) is not used in Persian.

Dha'mra'i, North of Dha'ka'.

Two Inscriptions of the reigns of Jaláluddín Fath Sháh and Husain Sháh.

Dr. Wise says—

"Dhámrái is situated about twenty miles north of Dháká, at the junction of Kaklajani and Bunsi rivers. It was one of the places where the Afgháns were settled after the defeats in Orísá and Lower Bengal, towards the end of Akbar's reign. There were two other places still further north on the Bunsi, where they were granted free lands. One, Ganakpárá, stands on the left bank of the river. There are no descendants of the Pat'háns there now, nor are there old Masjids or ruins. The third settlement was Ghosí in pergunnah 'Aṭiah, zil'ah Mainansingh. It is about ten miles due north of Dhamrái.

"Dhámrái is a scattered village, each portion being placed on a mound, generally of red laterite. One of its Mahallahs is still called 'Pat'hántalah,' and a few of the residents still claim to be of Afghán blood; but the peculiar physiognomy of that race is not to be found now-a-days. There are no old Masjids in Dhámrái. One did exist till lately; but it became ruinous, and the proprietors have dug up the foundations and sold the bricks. The only buildings of interest are the tombs of five brothers, all *pírs*, or saints. The most striking one is that of Mír Sayyid 'Alí in Pat'hantalah. It is eight feet high, and is surrounded by a high wall. On the west side of the tomb is an inscription in fine preservation, which bears the name of Sulṭán Husain Shah (*vide* below). The tombs of the other Pírs are of no interest. The other inscription was found by me in a private house in Pat'hántalah. It belongs to Fath Sháh's reign. Both inscriptions are evidently plundered from Sunnárgáon or some other city. There is no inscription in Mu'azzampúr."

I.

قال الله تعالی انّما يعمّر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر
قال النّبیّ صلّی الله عليه و سلّم من بنی مسجدا لله بنی الله له بيتا فی
الجنّة بنی هذا المسجد فی زمن سلطان العهد و الزّمان المؤيّد بتائيد الرّحمن
غوث الاسلام و المسلمين السّلطان ابن السّلطان جلال الدّنيا و الدّين ابو المظفّر
فتحشاه سلطان بن محمودشاه السّلطان خلّد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلی
امره و شانه بنی هذا المسجد المبارك الاسلام و المسلمين ظهير الملّة و
الدّين ملك الملك آخوند شير مير بحر اسكنه الله تعالی فی الجنّة
العاشر من جماد الاوّل سنه سبع و ثمانين و ثمانمائة اا

God Almighty says, 'Surely he who believes in God and a future life, will build mosques for God' [Qorán, IX, 18]. The prophet—may God's blessing rest on him! —says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house built for him by God in Paradise.'

This mosque was built in the time of the king of the age and the period, who is aided by the aid of the Merciful, the helper of Islám and the Muslims, the king, son of the king, Jaláluddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fath Sháh, the king, son of Mahmúd Sháh, the king,—May God perpetuate his rule and kingdom, and elevate his power and dignity!

The builder of this mosque which is blessed to Islám and the Muslims, is Zahírulmillat waddín, Malikul Mulk Ákhúnd Sher, the admiral—May God Almighty give him a dwelling in Paradise! Dated 10th Jumáda I., 887 [27th June 1482, A D.]

II.

قال النبيّ صلّى اللّه عليه و سلّم من بني مسجدا للّه بني اللّه له

بيتا مثله في الجنّة بني هذا المسجد الجامع السّلطان المعظّم المكرّم

علاؤ الدّنيا و الدّين ابوالمظفّر حسين شاه السّلطان بن سيّد اشرف الحسينيّ

خلّد اللّه ملكه و سلطانه في سنة اثني عشرين و تسعماية ||

The Prophet—may God's blessing rest on him!—says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise.' This Jámi' Masjid was built by the great and respected king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf, a descendant of Husain,—may God perpetuate his rule and his kingdom! Dated, A. H. 922 [A. D., 1516].

Bada'on.

The first inscription forwarded by Mr. Wilson belongs to the tomb of the Emperor 'Aláuddín or 'Álam Sháh, who, soon after A. H. 851, ceded the empire to Buhlúl Lodí, and withdrew to Badáon, where he lived in retirement, and died in A. H. 883. The stone measures about 5 feet by 2½ feet, and is the most extraordinary inscription that has come under my notice. The letters are nearly all without diacritical marks, and are so unusual, that the whole looks like a puzzle (*vide* Pl. I.) With the assistance of several Maulawís of Calcutta and Badáon, I have deciphered the greater portion of it, and can thus give the general purport of the inscription, leaving the complete and grammatical restoration of the text to others.

I.

First line بنت (؟) معلّي مذكوحة السّلطان الاعظم العادل البارّ

علاءالدّنيا و الدّين عالمشا

Second line ابن السّلطان المرحوم المغفور محمّد شاه السّلطان طاب ثراهما و جعل الجنّة مثواهما موضع پندولی اعمال

Third line تپه جهونه پرگنه سالباهن * * مساکن وحوش و طیور گه شمار کند (؟) موضع مذکور کسے نمانده (؟) مادلم له العلامه (؟) بمشقّه جانی و مالی احیا و

Fourth line آبادان گردانیده موضع مذکور جاگیر بحکم حدیث نبویّ صلّی اللّهٔ علیه و سلّم من احیا ارضا میّتة فهی له مالک احمدی بندگی (؟) بنت معلّی گشت مالکه مذکوره موضع مسطوره بر حظیرهٔ .

Fifth line سلطان المزبور و بر حظیرهٔ خود باستمرار اگر بغیرره حکم حاکم بنوبته بغیر انتساب (؟) وقف * شروط حکم وقف (؟) تغیر و تبدیل کند او عند الله ماخوذ

Sixth line و اثم مردود (؟) شود درین (؟) اجل تمسّک (؟) قال اللّه تعالی فمن بدّله بعد ما سمعه فانّما اثمه علی الذین یبدّلونه انّ اللّه سمیع علیم *

At the side متولّی موضع مذکور ملک سلامت سلطانی

The purport evidently is, that certain waste lands of Mauza' Pindolí, in Tappah Jhonah (or Jhoniah), perganah Sálbáhan, were cultivated. A Hadís of the prophet is then mentioned, according to which he who reclaims lands becomes the owner of them. These lands appear to have been set aside for the maintenance of the tombs of Sultán 'Aláuddín 'Álam Sháh, son of Sultán Muhammad Sháh, and his wife. Such as resume *waqf* lands are threatened with divine punishment, according to a passage in the Qorán [II, 177].

At the side of the inscription are the words, 'Malik Salámat Sultáni, Mutawallí of the above place.'

Mr. Wilson says in a letter.—"There is a village called 'Pindol,' and another called 'Nágar Jhonah" in perganah Kot Sálbáhan of this district [Badáon]; but there is no sub-division known as '*Tappah* Jhonah.' There is nothing particular about the tomb of 'Aláuddín. It is a large square, massive, structure of brick, covered with a vaulted roof, and with the remains of some minarets on the top. In the inside there are two graves

side by side, also a smaller one in the corner, but with no inscription of any kind on them. The tomb is in a very dilapidated condition, and the same may be said of the remains of other smaller buildings near it. Close to the tomb is an old masonry well, which is in working order, and is used for irrigating the adjacent lands."

The tomb, according to Maulaví Muhammad Karím, Deputy Collector of the district, lies in Mírán Sará, a Mahallah of Badáon. The emperor is said to have founded A'lápúr (اعلى پور),* which lies seven *kos* East of Badáon. He had three sons, Ahsan, 'Abbás, Haidar. 'Abbás had no issue. Ahsan founded Sayyidpúrah, outside Fort Badáon, to the south. The place does no longer exist, nor are there any descendants of his. Sayyid Haidar founded Saräi Mírán. His descendants exist to the present day, but they are all poor agriculturists.

II.

Mr. Wilson's second inscription is taken from the gateway of the Jámi' Masjid at Badáon. His reading is as follows :—

ادخلوها بسلام آمنين السّلطان الاعظم مالك رقاب الامم شمس الدنيا و

الدّين غياث الاسلام و المسلمين اعدل الملوك والسّلاطين ابوالمظفّر ايلتمش

السّلطان ناصر امير المومنين خلّد اللّه ملكه فى شهر رمضان المبارك

سنه ستّمايه و ثمانيه عشرين ١١

Enter it in peace! The great Sultán, the owner of the necks of nations, S h a m s-u d d u n y á w a d d í n, the helper of Islám and the Moslems, the most just of rulers and kings, A b u l M u z a f f a r I'l i t m i s h, [Altamsh] the king, who assists the Commander of the Faithful,—may God perpetuate his kingdom! In the blessed month of Ramazán, 628 [November, 1230, A. D.]

A'la'pu'r.

From the Masjid in A'lápúr, east of Badáon—

III.

قيق بن مره (؟) قيش دادبك بخطة بداؤن فى المنتصف من

ربيع الاوّل سنه سبع و سبعمايه ١١

Qíq, son of......(?), Dádbak [highest judicial officer] in the district of Badáon. In the middle of Rabí' I., 707, [September, 1307, A. D.]

The inscription seems to be incomplete.

* So spelt by the Deputy Collector, not علاپور 'Alápúr.

IV.

From inside a mosque at A'lápúr-

بسم الله الرحمن الرحیم این مسجد در عهد ابو ظفر محی الدین محمد
اورنگ زیب بهادر عالمگیر پادشاه وعمل جاگیر دیندار خان خویشگی سنه
الف و احدی وسبعین تعمیر یافت ۲۱

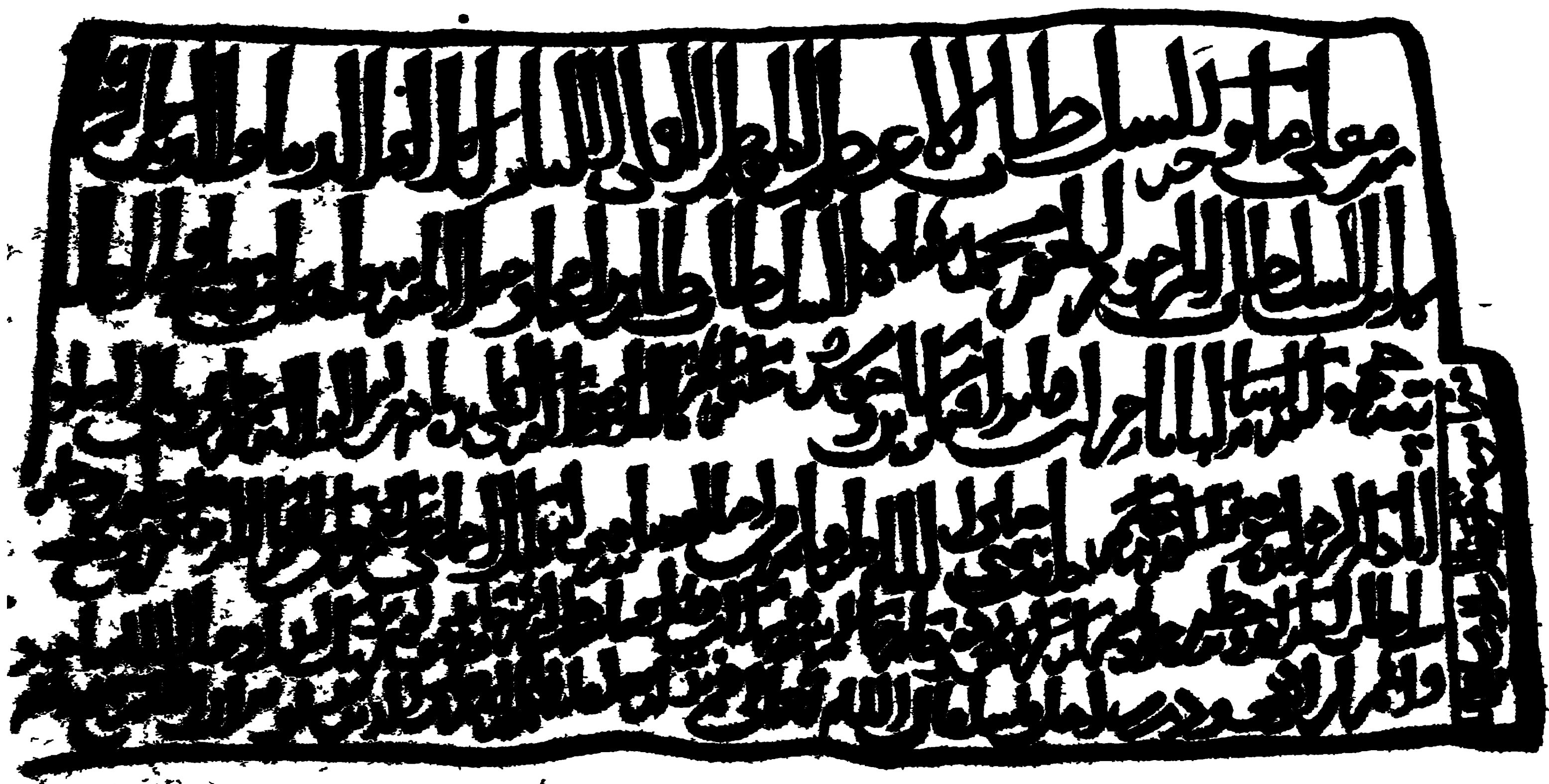
In the name of God, the merciful and the clement! This mosque was built during the reign of **Abú Zafar Muhíuddin Muhammad Aurangzíb** Bahádur, 'A'lamgír Pádisháh, when **Díndár Khán Khweshagí** was Jágírdár. A. H. 1071, [A. D., 1660.].

This Díndár Khán* belongs to a well known Afghán family, called the *Khweshagís*, or 'relatives,' who settled at Qasúr (قسور, or قصور) in the Bárí Duáb. He is twice mentioned in the *Maásir i 'A'lamgírí* (pp. 213, 340). The *Maásir ul Umará* gives interesting biographical details of Nazar Bahádur Khweshagí and Husain Khán Khweshagí.

In the Proceedings for March of this year, I gave two other inscriptions received from Mr. Wilson. Maulaví Muhammad Karím suggests two alterations in the first inscription (*loc. cit.*, p. 48). For the unusual چاهتال, he reads چاهتال, a 'well-tank,' which compound appears to me to be as curious as my old reading. The date he reads 898, instead of 798. The rubbing, it would appear, gives هیصد *hiçad*, instead of هفصد *hafçad*, which I chose, and the Maulaví says that هیصد in Persian stands for هشصد *hashçad*, not for هفصد. In giving the text of the inscription, I mentioned that it was, in point of grammar and sense, the worst that I had seen; and if the writer did use *hiçad*, he used a form which no Persian knows, nor any dictionary records. Besides, there was no occasion for an artifical *hiçad*, as *hashçad* suits the metre as well. But the Maulaví gives a better reason for adopting 898, when he maintains that the second verse is an allusion to Sikandar Lodí, in whose reign a Khán Jahán [Lodí] lived. This Khán Jahán is mentioned in Badáoní and Firishtah. For the three asterisks* in the first line, he reads مقاطع خطهٔ بداون 'Jágírdár of the District of Badáon,' which I believe to be correct, although the form *muqáṭi'* should, according to usage, be *muqṭi'*. However the author of the inscription knew as little of grammar as of poetry.

* He is not to be confounded with the Díndár Khán i Bukhárí, who served under Jahángír and Sháhjahán. He was Faujdár of the Miyán Duáb, and died in A. H. 1045. *Maásir ul Umará.*

In the *julús* name of Aurangzíb we find, in MSS. and inscriptions, both *Abul Muzaffar* and *Abú zafar.*

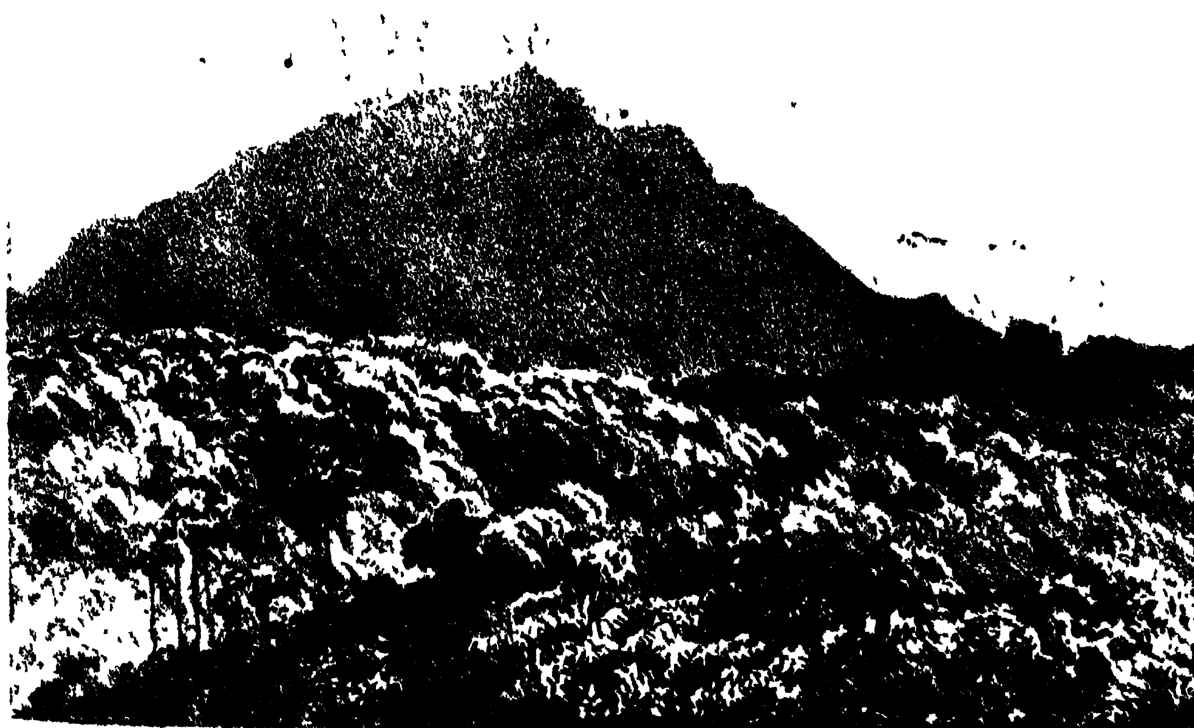


Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office Calcutta

INSCRIPTION ON THE TOMB OF 'ALÁ-UDDÍN SHÁH AT BADÁON.



Naga Hut

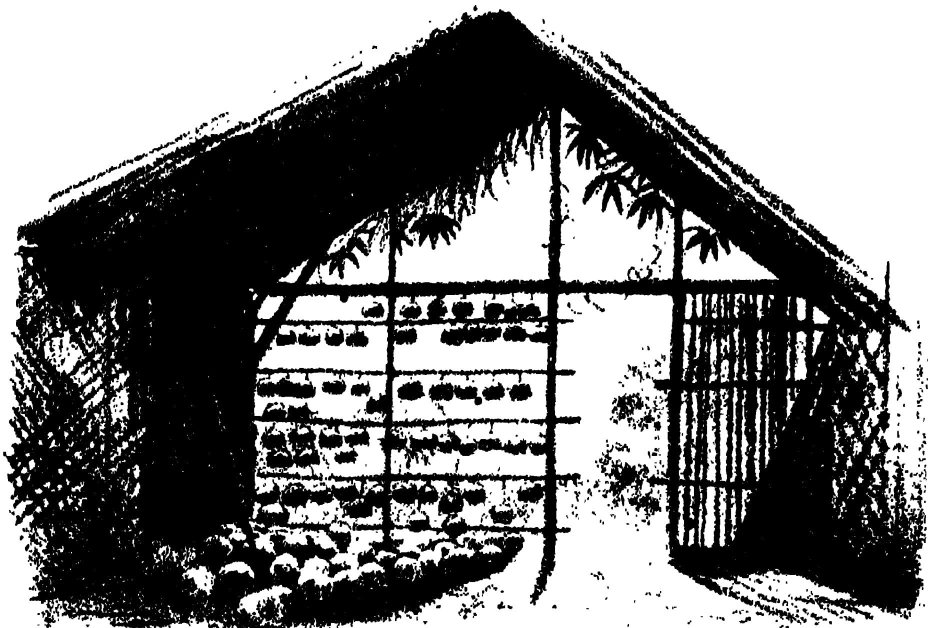


Joboka, 3800 feet

Joboka Chai *Longtu*



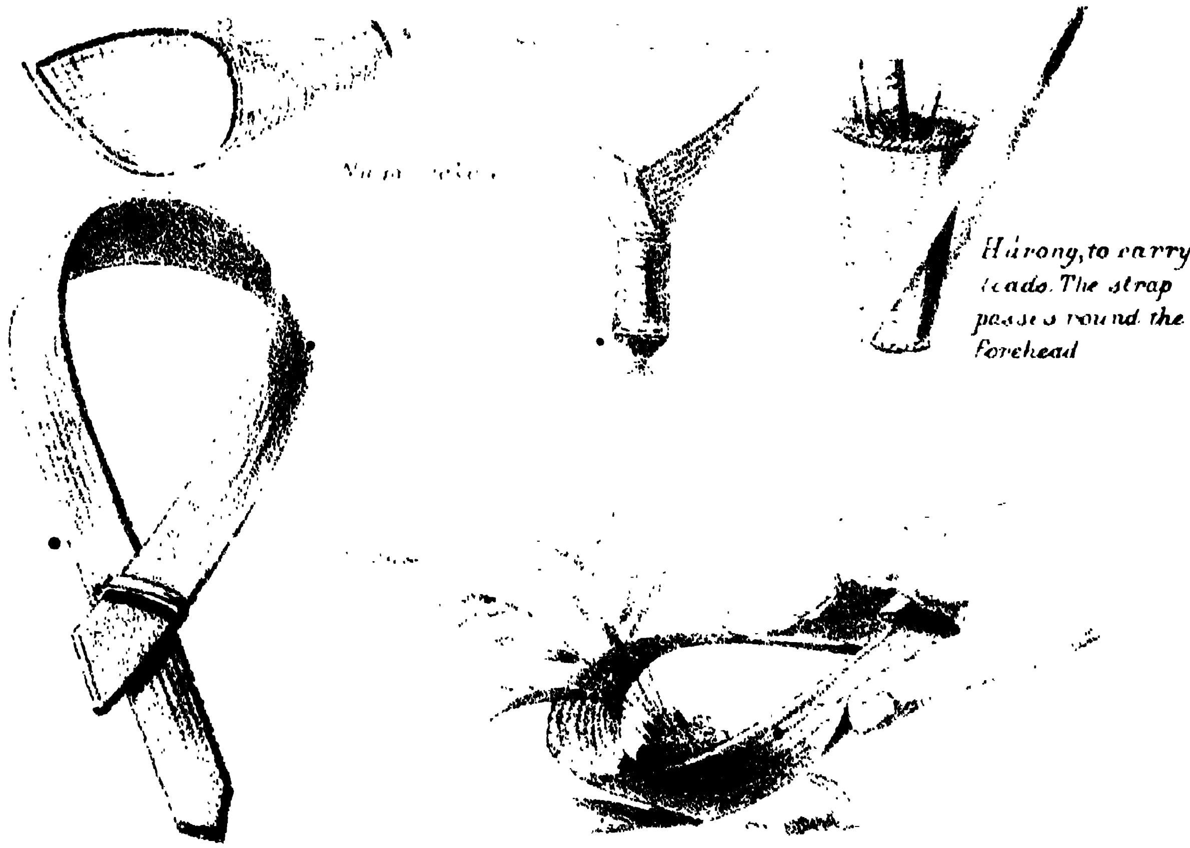
AK, *or tattoo, of the* BANPARS,
MUTONS *and* JOBOKA CHANG.



A Nágá Moriang, or skull house (p. 19)



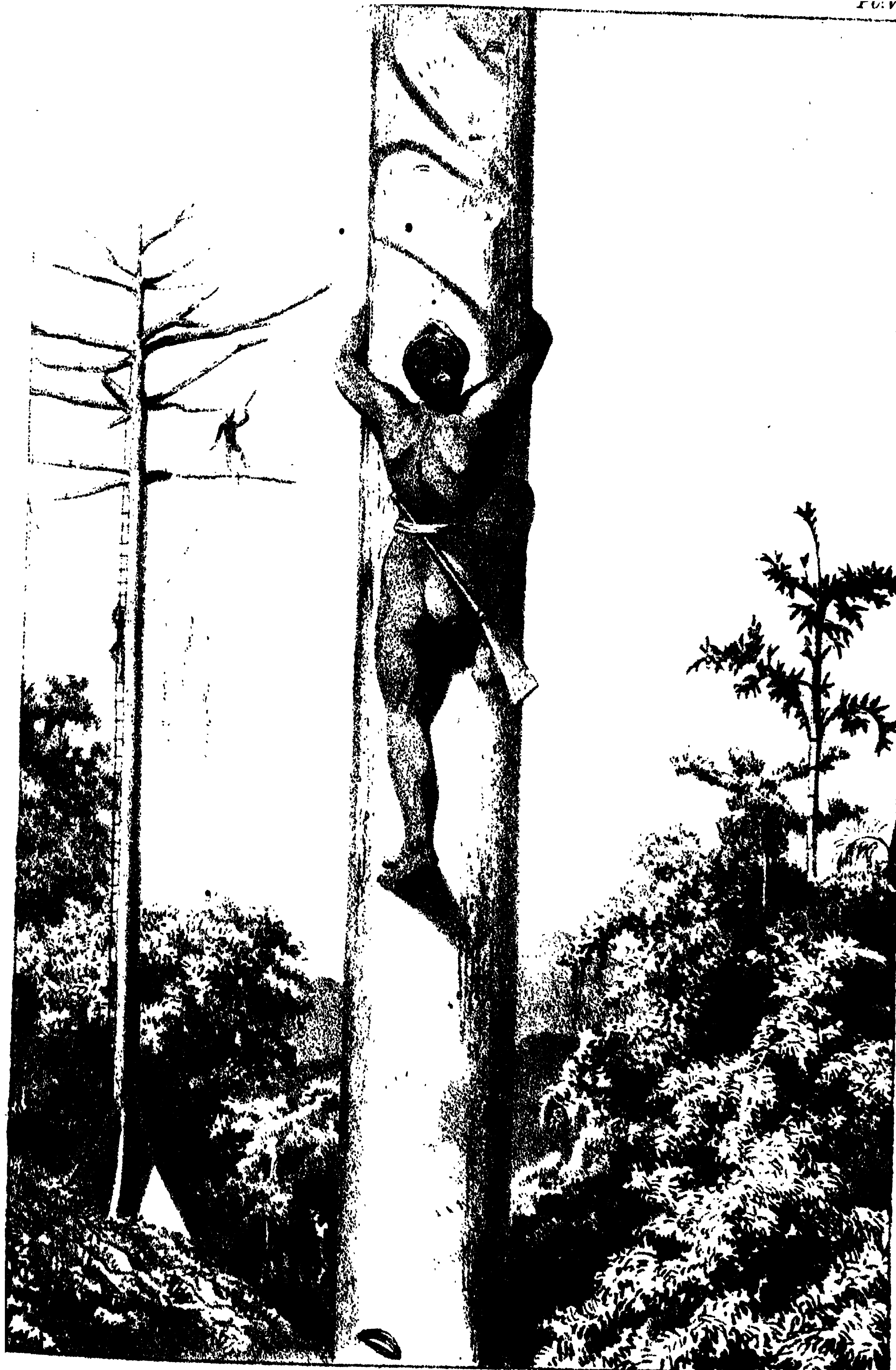
Nagá [illegible] (p. 1[illegible])



[illegible]

Hárong, to carry loads. The strap passes round the forehead

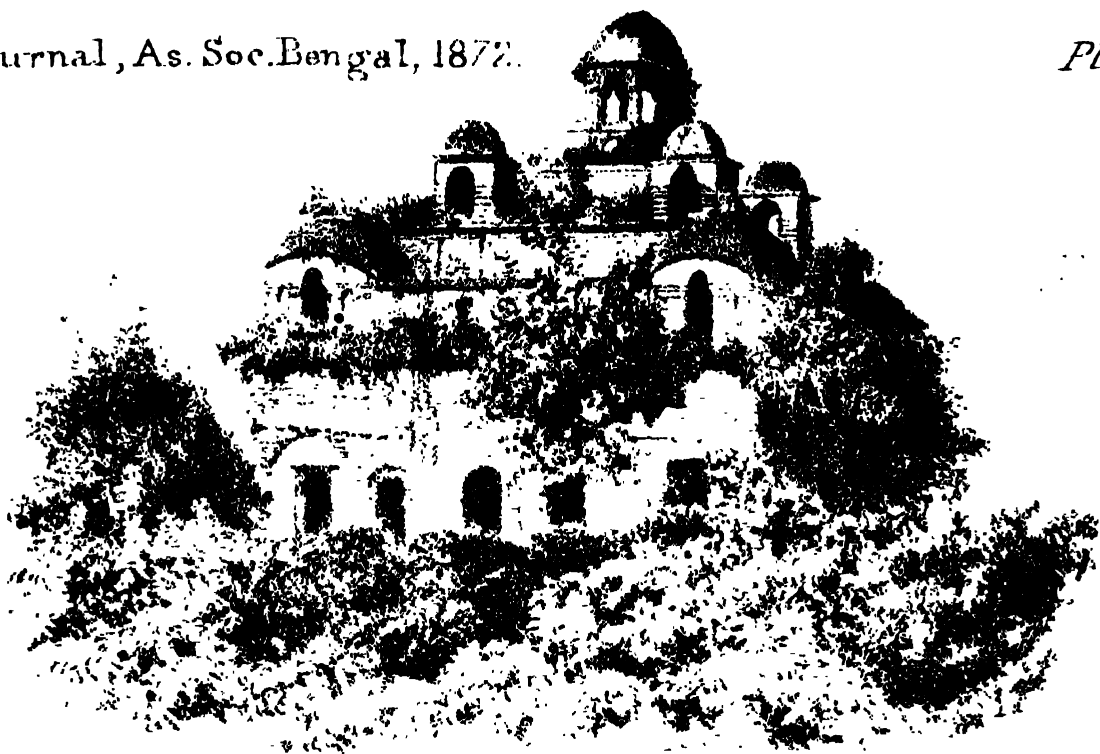
Bamboo loops for weeding (p. 18.)



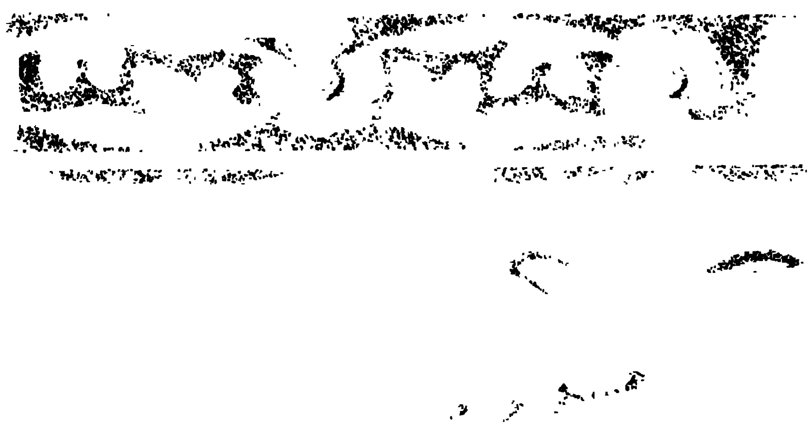
Nágá with his dháo climbing a tree



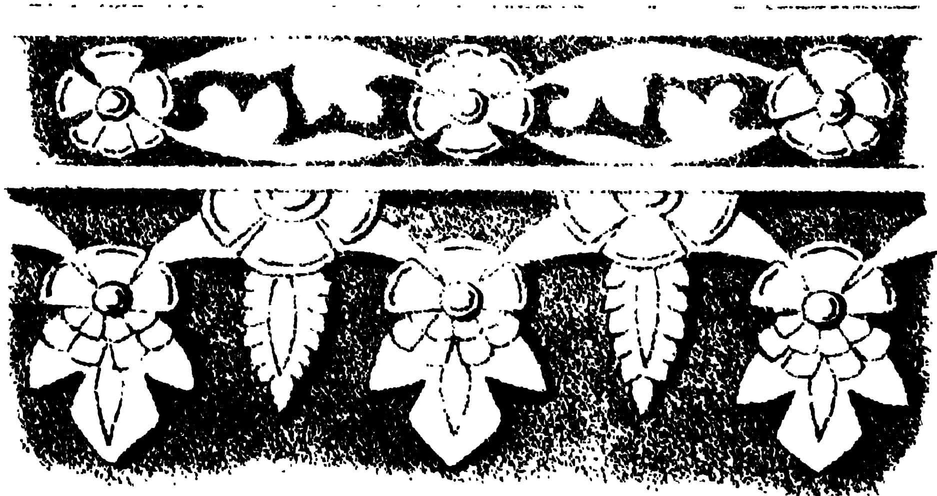
A NAGA WOMAN with the DHAO.
(the waistband or Mekla, 2 ft by 5 ½ inch.)



The Rajah's Palace at Ghargaon, Asám.



Stucco Ornaments in the Palace.



JOURNAL

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. II.—1872.

The Legend of Bághesar, a deified spirit held in great reverence by the Kúsrú, Súrí, Markám, Netiá, and Sársún clans of the Gond Tribe.—By Capt. W. L. SAMUELLS, *Assistant Commissioner, Mánbhúm.*

Once upon a time, in a family of the Gond tribe, there were five brothers, named respectively Kúsrú, Súri, Markám, Netia, and Sársún.

On the first occasion on which Kúsrú's wife was pregnant, she brought forth a male child; but on the second occasion she gave birth to a tiger's whelp. This young cub was treated by its parents with as much affection and regard as their first-born; and the superior nursing it received, had such a powerful effect on its growth and constitution, that in a few months it grew up to be the finest child of its age and kind that ever was known. From childhood he was the constant companion of Kúsrú, never forsaking his side for a moment; and so great was the filial attachment he bore towards his unnatural parent, that, to this day it is said in praise of him, he was never known to have injured Kúsrú in any way. To the Gond mind no doubt this was a most remarkable trait of character; for what is the experience of their lives from day to day, but that of the strong lording it over the weak.

Kúsrú, whose occupation was husbandry, had taken to tilling jungle lands near his village, and during such time as there were crops in the ground, he used to spend the greater portion of it in watching them. But at one time it so happened that for some days past he had been less vigilant than usual, and the *nílgái* and *sámbar*, making the best of the opportunity, well-nigh ruined the crop and Kúsrú's prospects. However, it was better to save what remained than lose all, thought Kúsrú philosophically; so he

hutted himself close by the field, and night and day watched without ceasing. Weary days and nights were those for Kúsrú, and little wonder was it that—

'One beautiful night
When the stars shone bright'

Kúsrú's head went nid-nid-nodding, and his eyes, sore and weary from watching, dropped the curtains and went to sleep. But whilst he slept, the young cub watching, saw a trespasser approach. So placing his paw gently on Kúsrú's shoulder, he roused him from sleep, and by signs and gestures drew his attention to a noble looking sámbar, who was making himself at home amongst the young and tender *úrid* plants.

Kúsrú, however, instead of being quickened to action by the sight, fell into a desponding state; and tearing his hair and bemoaning his ill-fortune, sunk to the ground and cried aloud, 'Oh, that mine enemy might be swallowed up!' The young cub, moved by this despairing and touching appeal, instantly crouched and sprung upon the deer, which it killed and tore to pieces; making emphatically no bones about the matter. And so from day to day, till the crop was gathered, the young cub watched and slew, and thus saved Kúsrú's field from further injury.

For this great act of deliverance, Kúsrú began to love the young cub as he never before had loved him, with a love in fact that was little short of idolatry. But Kúsrú had at length to experience the bitter truism that 'all flesh is but as dust;' for, alas, a day came—'the long, long, weary day' of Kúsrú's existence—when the young tiger departed this life and gave up the ghost. In other words he died and became a *bhút!*

Kúsrú was inconsolable, and his wife by no means improved matters by presenting him at such a time with an addition to the family in the shape of a daughter. If she had only kept up the tiger progeny, she might possibly have helped thereby to fill up that aching void which was gnawing at Kúsrú's gizzard. He ate not—he slept not; and how life was sustained during the following space of ten or twelve years, we are not informed.

Tradition, not to be burdened with such trifles, hurries us on to the period when Kúsrú's daughter had matured into a plump and buxom lass, and veiled and decked as a bride in turmeric-stained garments, looking as fine as a carrot fresh-scraped, we find her seated with a bridegroom at her side under a leafy marriage-bower, which has been erected for the occasion within her father's court-yard. Kinsmen and acquaintances from far and near have come in holiday attire to offer their congratulations and enjoy the fun, and are to be seen crowding round the *marwá*, or bower, with joyful faces and sparkling eyes. Even Kúsrú, forgetful of his old sorrows, is determined to make merry with the rest, and is to be seen urging the drummers and pipers to increased

exertion, as if in all conscience they were not making enough din and noise already. But the time and occasion perhaps require it.

The ceremony is at a close, and the nuptial knot has been tied. Three hours have passed in tedious rites and ceremonies. The happy couple with the bride's-maids and best man have all been kissed and marked with the sacred symbols times out of number, first by one relation and then by another. The bride and bridegroom with their garments knotted together have, with mincing steps, slowly and wearily crept seven times round the *bhaunra*, or branch, which forms the central support to the bower. The rice given in dowry has been measured out to the same mystical number of seven times. Everything, in short, has been done that ought to have been done, and the wedded couple are now about to retire within the house, whilst the spectators withdraw to the green outside to dance, sing, and make merry.

But the attention of every one present is suddenly arrested by fiendish yells and roars.

"What is it? Who is it?" is the anxious enquiry of every one as the words pass from mouth to mouth with wind-like rapidity. With quivering accents and bated breath the answer comes speedily back, that one of the company has become (demoniacally) possessed with a demon. A thrill of mingled terror and dismay ran through the whole party at the sudden news of so untoward an event, for

"When the sun sets, who doth not look for night?"

The most civilized community on earth could not fail, on a similarly joyful occasion of their own, to be overcome with, at least, a sense of gloom, if one of their number on the spot went suddenly mad or hysterical. But amongst a people naturally superstitious, and that to a degree almost incredible, the circumstance before alluded to had a wider and deeper significance than anything we can possibly imagine.

Falling into the midst of the company, the individual possessed is dashing his body about on the ground; up and down; right and left; driving the lookers on from post to pillar, and from pillar to post; and, by his wild and fiendish actions, striking consternation and terror into the hearts of all; for a visitation of this sort had never on such an occasion been known before.

Kúsrú's spirits went down with a run, and looking as grave as a judge, he implored the Baigá, or village priest and necromancer, to divine whose spirit this was, and for what purpose it had come.

Forthwith the Baigá, with an air of authority worthy of an exorcist, interrogates the spirit, saying—

Speak! speak! thou fearful guest!
Whose spirit haunts thy breast?*
Why thus as one possessed
Come ye to daunt me?

Amidst a breathless silence, the demoniac giving the wretched Kúsrú a piercing look of recognition, informs him and his terror-stricken guests in a voice peculiar to gnomes, bogies, goblins, and such like fry,

I was a tiger bold!
My deeds, though manifold,
No Gond hath yet extolled,
For this I sought thee.

Kúsrú is thunder-struck, and the company in dumb show betoken bewilderment, whilst the restless and impatient spirit roars, 'Worship me with offerings and sacrifices.'

A fowl was immediately fetched for the purpose of being offered up in the orthodox fashion; but the spirit evinced such unmistakeable signs of dissatisfaction at the very sight of this familiar bird, that a kid was instantly brought to be sacrificed in its stead. As soon as the demoniac espied that animal, he sprang at it after the fashion of a tiger, and, seizing it between his teeth, gnawed and tore it to death.

Kúsrú's joy at this sight was unspeakable; for there was a something in the killing way in which the demoniac went to work that revealed to him beyond a doubt, that the spirit present was of a truth no other than that of his favourite tiger-son. So he brought out a pot of the last home-brew, and some of the finest and purest ghí which his store contained wherewith to treat his welcome guest.

Three leaf-cupfuls of the former were poured down the demoniac's throat and a handful of ghí forced into his mouth, whereupon the spirit being satisfied went out of the man, and took its departure for the shades below, leaving Kúsrú dilated with joy, but the company *en masse* in grave doubt as to the light in which this apparently unwarrantable intrusion ought to be regarded.

But they soon received the assurance of Kúsru and the Baigá that this little novelty which had so alarmed every one at the first was the happiest omen possible. So from that day forth, the spirit of Kúsrú's tiger-son was deified and worshipped under the name of Bághesar by the five Gond clans descended from, and respectively named after, the brothers Kúsrú, Súrí, Markám, Netia, and Sarsún.

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* "Speak! speak! thou fearful guest!
"Who with thy hollow breast, &c."
Longfellow's *Skeleton in Armour.*

The substance of the above was told me by a Gond of the Kúsrú clan, at the marriage of whose daughter I was present; and it was then that I witnessed the pranks of the demon Bághesar from which I was led to make enquiry as to his antecedents.

It is only at the marriages of members of the five clans, who are named in the heading to this paper, that Bághesar manifests his presence in the manner narrated in the story. With them he is held in reverence as a *deified* spirit; but with other Gonds, Bághesar is simply one of the many spirits to whom propitiatory offerings are yearly made. According to the latter he has no such origin as that ascribed to him by the five clans before-mentioned, but is simply regarded as 'the concentrated essence of spirits', which have issued from those Gonds who have met their deaths by tigers; for, according to local belief, the spirits of all Gonds thus killed, are said to unite and form the one great spirit Bághesar; and it is simply with a view to saving their flocks and herds, and their own lives also, from the ravages of tigers that the inhabitants of every Gond village yearly make offerings to propitiate this demon. And to this extent I find the same spirit is known and propitiated by the people of these wild parts generally.

At the marriage ceremony which I witnessed, Bághesar entered into and possessed two men. One was the *pujárí* or priest, and the other a looker on. The *pujárí* is always told off specially for this duty, in case none of the company should happen to get involuntarily possessed. A woman, on the occasion referred to, was also taken worse, but got quickly bundled out of the way from motives of public decency.

The manner in which the two men seized the kid between their teeth and by that means killed it, was a sight which could only be equalled in a zoological garden or menagerie on feeding days.

But this exhibition of fiend-like butchery is only allowed to be partially witnessed, for, as soon as the kid has been fairly pinned, the members of the family who are standing by, throw blankets or cloths over the demoniacs, as they say it is a sight not fit for all eyes to behold; a point which no civilized being would be likely to dispute with them.

The demoniacs I saw, were permitted to exercise their teeth on the kid's carcase some time after it had sounded its last gurgling note: and this indulgence, judging from the motions of the covering cloths, was entered into with an amount of zest and gusto that was positively brutal; and from an orange-sucking sound that was occasionally audible, a horrid suspicion crossed my mind that they had even gone to the extent of blood-sucking, though of this I could not be positive.

The bride's father at length dragged out the mangled and lifeless body of the kid and put it aside; and the men emerging from their covering disported themselves like electrified frogs *à la* Ghámásán, another gentleman

of the infernal regions whose acquaintance I made in these parts, and who throws those whom he possesses into a state suggestive of one attacked simultaneously with hysterics, epilepsy, ague, and colic, a fearful combination, it is true, and to fully realise which, the reader must make a trip to Chang-Bhokár, which, geographically speaking, is one of the Chutiá-Nágpúr Tributary States, but which psychologically, I think, must be one of the outlying provinces of Pandemonium.

The bride's father having treated each of the demoniacs to three cupfuls of liquor and a mouthful of ghí, Bághesar's spirit vanished, leaving both the men considerably blown and exhausted.

During the whole of this scene not a soul spoke, and the general impression seemed to be, that it was too solemn a matter to be sneered or laughed at. Still no marriage ceremony is complete without it, and, according to Gond ideas, fortune smiles on the wedded couple when Bághesar appears.

If the bride's parents are poor and have not the means to afford a kid, a pig is given instead. This I should think can't be quite so pleasant for the demoniacs, but the fun no doubt would be considerably enhanced to those lookers-on who, like myself, had nothing to fear from Bághesar, and could therefore with impunity smile at his pranks.

Of the extraordinary nature of the scene in general, no description could ever supply a perfectly accurate conception; but, as an illustration of the superstitious belief and worship of one of the most interesting of the aboriginal tribes of India, it is nevertheless worthy of record.



Essays in aid of a Comparative Grammar of the Gauṛian Languages.—*By* REV. A. F. RUDOLF HOERNLE, *D. Ph., Professor of Sanskrit, Jay Náráyan's College, Benares.*

I.—*Introductory.*

It may be convenient to have a collective name for all North-Indian languages derived from the Sanskrit. As Dráviḍian is now, after the example set by Dr. Caldwell in his Comparative Grammar of the Dráviḍian languages, the name generally received to designate the non-Sanskritic languages of South India, and as Gauṛian (गौड़) is the term commonly used by Sanskrit writers as the correlative to Dráviḍian (द्राविड़), it appears to be the simplest plan to appropriate the term Gauṛian for the Sanskritic languages of North India.*

The following languages must be accounted Gauṛian: *viz.*, the Oṛiyá, the Bangálí, the Hindí, the Naipálí, the Maráṭhí, the Gujarátí, the Sindhí,

* If I am not much mistaken, I have already seen the word Gauṛian employed by some writers in this wise, so that its use by me is not a novelty.

the Panjábí (or Gurmukhí), and the Kashmirí. They are divided into two groups by some striking grammatical peculiarities, of which I may here mention two, which will more immediately concern us in the following essays. One is the possession of an eighth case of agent (over and above the common seven Sanskrit cases), formed by the post-position न (or नैं; in the Naipáli, ले); a correlate of which is the absence of an organic past tense of the verb. The other is the adjective character of the genitive post-positions, which agree with the noun which they qualify, in gender, number, and case. These peculiarities are possessed by all Gauṛian languages except the Oṛiyá and Bangálí, which two latter, therefore, form a group by themselves; the remainder making up the other group.

The Hindí is the most extensively spoken of all the Gauṛian languages. Its area consists of nearly 40,000 square miles, and extends from the River Gaṇḍak in the east to the Satlaj in the west, and from the Himálaya in the north to the Vindhyá Mountains in the south. But a distinction must be made between the high Hindí and the low Hindí, the mutual relation of which shows many striking resemblances to that between the high and low German. I take here the terms high and low in their ordinary sense, meaning by high the cultivated, the language of literature, and by low, the vulgar spoken dialects. The high Hindí is used almost exclusively for literature over the whole area, and is understood everywhere; though it is perhaps nowhere spoken in its purity by the people: at all events, it is spoken only by the higher and educated classes. The high Hindí does not differ from the Urdú in its grammar; and in its vocabulary only so far, that it substitutes for all foreign (*i. e.*, Persian or Arabic) words, others transferred to it *directly* from the Sanskrit. It arose gradually by the substitution of Sanskrit words partly for foreign words, partly for such Prákrit words as had become, in the course of time, obsolete or vulgar; and the cause of this substitution was partly the revival of Hindú patriotism, partly the impetus given to Hindí literature through the introduction by the English of vernacular education and Christian missions. It is, therefore, a comparatively modern language. In fact, its formation and growth is still going on, as any one who takes an interest in such matters may verify by personal observation.

While the high Hindí is uniform and spread over the whole area of the Hindí, the low Hindí consists of many dialects differing more or less among themselves and confined to different provinces. But they may be divided into two great classes, of which the Braj Bháshá and the (so-called) Gaṇwárí, respectively, are typical. The former class occupies the western, the latter the eastern half of the Hindí area. Roughly speaking, the boundary line may be drawn at 80° Long. To the western class belong, besides the typical Braj Bháshá spoken in the Ágrá and Mathurá Districts, the Dialects of

Gwáliár, Alwar, Jaipúr, the Máṛwáṛí dialect, &c. To the eastern class belong, beside the typical Gaṇwárí spoken in the Benares Division, the Baiswárí* dialect of Audh, the Maithilí dialect of Tirhut, and others. The differences between these two classes are so great as to constitute them almost two different languages; for the Gaṇwárí and its class of dialects participate in most of the characteristics of the Bangálí class of the Gauṛian languages, while the Braj Bháshá class of dialects share those of the other Gauṛian languages. The Gaṇwárí, as its name which means 'rustic' or 'vulgar' (ग्रामवारी, confined to villages) indicates, has never received any literary cultivation, and is confined to the low and uneducated part of the population. Throughout the whole area of the latter, a more or less pure high Hindi is spoken and written by the higher and the educated classes. Hence here the area of the Hindi class of the Gauṛian languages and that of the Bangálí class overlap each other, the Gaṇwárí forming a sort of transition language between the two. The Braj Bháshá on the other hand has begun from early times to receive some literary cultivation. Most Hindi poets within the last 400 years (*e. g.*, Kabír, Bihárí Lál, Súr Dás, Tulsi Dás, &c.) have employed it principally in their poems. Hence it has become the mother of the Urdú and high Hindí. The latter derive by far the greatest part of their grammar and vocabulary from it. In fact, it is distinguished from the high Hindí chiefly by a greater roughness and a greater abundance of its grammatical forms. Grammars of the Braj Bháshá have been written in modern times, *e. g.*, by Ballantyne, and in the Hindi and Hindústání Selections; and perhaps the best known prose work written in it is the *Rájaníti*, a translation of the Sanskrit *Hitopadeshá.*

Two opposite opinions are held by different scholars regarding the nature of the Gauṛian languages. While some Orientalists consider them to be, with trifling exceptions in the vocabulary, wholly Sanskritic, others admit large un-Sanskritic additions, both in the grammar and in the vocabulary. According to Dr. Caldwell,† *e. g.*, "the grammâtical structure of the spoken idioms of Northern India was from the first, and always continued to be, in the main Scythian; and the change which took place when Sanskrit acquired the predominance as the Aryans gradually extended their conquests and their colonies, was rather a change of vocabulary than of grammar; a

* The derivation of Baiswára is uncertain. According to some Pandits, it is connected with the word बैश्वानर, which is said to be the name of a Kshattriya tribe living in Audh, who gave to their country the name of the Baiswára country, and to their dialect the name of the Baiswárí dialect. According to others, it is a modification of बैश्यवारी. The meaning of the name would then be: the dialect confined to the Vaisyas, or rustics; and it would be almost identical with the meaning of the name Gaṇwárí, which is a modification of ग्रामवारी, *i. e.*, confined to villages.

† Comparative Grammar, p. 38.

change not so much in arrangement and vital spirit as in the *matériel* of the language. Seeing that the northern vernaculars possess with the words of the Sanskrit a grammatical structure which in the main appears to be Scythian, it seems more correct to represent these languages as having a Scythian basis with a large and overwhelming Sanskrit addition, than as having a Sanskrit basis with a small admixture of a Scythian element." If this theory should be true, the Gaurian languages could no more be accounted Sanskritic or Indo-European, any more than the Drávidian languages. For languages must be classified according to their grammatical structure.* Otherwise, English (Johnsonian English at all events) would have to be counted among the Romance, and Urdú among the Semitic languages. But the whole question is hardly yet ripe for adjudication. The Gaurian languages have as yet had very little attention paid to them as regards their nature and origin. Moreover in such an investigation a serious difficulty is met with at the outset in the extreme want and inaccessibility of the Gaurian literature dating from the time when the Gaurian languages took their origin (about 800 to 1200, A. D.). As up to this time the Aryan population of North India, who had imigrated many centuries before, had used exclusively Sanskritic languages (Sanskrit, Páli, Prákrit), it would be a most remarkable phenomenon, if they, a Culturvolk, had now exchanged their native grammar for that of the uncultured and despised aboriginal population; supposing that the language of the latter was really a non-Aryan one, and that it had really survived the long Aryan occupation; both suppositions by no means established as yet. It has happened more than once that a conquering nation (especially, if inferior in culture), while retaining more or less its native vocabulary, adopted the grammar of the conquered people (as the Normans in England, the Arabs and Turks in North India, the Franks in Gaul), under the condition that this process commenced from the very first beginning of the conquest. But that the conquerors, after having resided for centuries in the country and retained their native language (both in grammar and vocabulary, trifling instances in the latter excepted) entirely unmixed with the aboriginal languages, should abandon their own grammar in favour of that of the conquered, requires strong proofs to be credited, especially as it is by no means certain whether the aboriginal languages at all survived at so late a date; for, according to the evidence afforded by the Prákrit of the plays, Prákrit was spoken by the low class population, which was composed, no doubt, principally of the subjugated aboriginal people, who, therefore, either spoke a Sanskritic language from the first or adopted the vulgar dialect of the language of their conquerors.

* Compare Max Müller's remarks in Lectures on the Science of Language, lect. II., pp. 86-90 (6th Ed.).

If by a more thorough investigation of the Gauṛian languages it can be shown, that they are entirely Sanskritic, this will, on account of the many undoubted resemblances between the Gauṛian and Dráviḍian languages (cf. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, pp. 34 to 39), materially affect our view of the classification of the latter. However, this problem awaits yet a thorough scientific enquiry. And the following essays are offered as a slight contribution towards its solution. For the inflexional post-positions of the Gauṛian languages are, above other points, considered to be evidences of the Dráviḍian* or Scythian† character of their grammatical structure.

Essay II.—On the Post-Positions of the Genitive.

The present essay will be devoted to the elucidation of the nature and origin of the post-positions of the genitive. They are the following :—

In the High Hindí, - - -	का, की, के ;
Braj Bháshá, - - - -	कौ, की, के ;
Alwar Dialect, - - - -	को, की, के, का ;
Ganwárí, - - - -	कै, के ;
Maithilí, - - - -	क ;
Naipáli, - - - -	को, की, का ;
Maráṭhí, - - - -	चा, ची, चें, चे, च्या, चीं ;
Gujaráti, - - - -	नो, नी, नुं, ना, नां ;
Panjábí, - - - -	दा, दी, दे ;
Sindhí, - - - -	जो, जी, जे, जा ;
Bangálí, - - - -	एर or र ;
Oṛiyá, - - - -	र ;

The only attempt at an explanation of the origin of these post-positions that I remember to have met with, is one made by Bopp in his Comparative Grammar, para. 340, note.‡

He compares the Hindí genitives formed by means of the post-positions का, etc., with the Sanskrit genitive plural अस्माकम् of अहम् I, and युष्माकम् of त्वम् thou, etc. These words are possessive pronomina (*our* and *your*) formed by the affix क. Others also have referred to this Sanskrit affix क or कीय, which expresses relation or possession, as an explanation of the Hindí post-positions. But there are serious objections to this theory.

* By Dr. Stevenson, in the Journal of the Bombay Asiatic Society.

† Cf. Dr. Caldwell's Comparative Grammar, p. 39. He seems, however, inclined to admit a Sanskritic origin of the genitive post-positions, cf. p. 246.

‡ He says: Es verdient bemerkt zu werden, dass im Hindostanischen die Formen, die man in beiden zahlen aller declinations-fachigen woerter als genitive aufstellt, sich als unverkennbare possessiva herausstellen, dadurch dass sie sich nach dem Geschlechte des folgenden Substantives richten. Die pronomina erster und zweiter person haben im masc. râ, im fem. rî, als possessiv suffix, die übrigen woerter im masc. kâ, im Fem. kî; kâ aber stimmt zum skr. suffix ka von asmâka, yusmâka, mâmaka, tâvaka.

The form of the word to which the post-positions are added, is not *always* the pure base, as the addition of the Sanskrit affix would require, but already *inflected* (*e. g.*, घोड़े in घोड़ेका, of a horse, is not the simple base of the word घोड़ा, but an inflected form of it). Again, it is most unlikely that elements like the affixes क, कीय, etc., which occur in Sanskrit only as integral parts of a word, but never by themselves as independent words, should have, in a comparatively modern language, separated themselves from the body of the word and assumed independent life (as post-positions) similar to that of prepositions. It would be a phenomenon contrary to those that have been observed in all other cases of (what Max Müller calls) dialectic regeneration. It is clear also that by this theory the other post-positions (as स, में, ने) cannot be explained. But there can be no doubt that, whatever the true explanation be, it must be the same for all post-positions. For these reasons among others, any theory which traces the post-positions to Sanskrit affixes cannot be the true one. Their explanation must be sought for in a different direction.

In the first place, it may be remarked that the term "post-position" is misleading. It gives the idea as if the words, to which it is applied, belonged to that class of words which includes the prepositions, conjunctions, etc., *i. e.*, elements of language which are incapable of either derivation or inflexion. Now most of the so-called post-positions of the genitive are capable of both. They have clearly a nominal or more accurately an *adjective* character. For the Hindi का, की, के, agree with the noun which they qualify, in case, number, and gender, exactly as for instance, अच्छा, अच्छी, अच्छे, good. If the qualified noun is a masculine singular nominative, then का is used; if a feminine singular or plural, then की; if a masculine plural nominative, then के; if a masculine in any *oblique* case, then के. The same is the case with the Panjábi दा, दी, दे, the Braj Bháshá को, की, के, etc. In the Sindhi, जो and जी are used like का and की in High Hindí; जा is used, if the qualified noun is in the masculine plural nominative, and जे is used, if it is a masculine in any *oblique* case singular or plural. With this agrees the use of the post-positions को, की, का, के, of the Alwar and Jaipúr dialect.

After these explanations the following scheme of the agreement* of the

* This agreement is not altogether perfect; but neither is the agreement of the *real* adjective with its substantive more so; *e. g.*, in Hindí, की and के ought to have a different form in the plural; probably these plural forms are irregularly adopted from the singular; but then अच्छा, good, has also both in the singular and plural अच्छी, अच्छे. Originally, the agreement was much more perfect. This is clearly proved by the Maráṭhí, where "sometimes, in poetry, the adjective takes a case-form corresponding to that of the noun it qualifies; thus:

हास्यकरावें भावें न धरावें मानसें उदासीनें"

Student's Manual of Maráṭhí Grammar, p. 39.

Gaurian genitive post-positions with the noun qualified by them will be easily understood—

	Singular.						Plural.					
	Direct case.			Oblique cases.			Direct case.			Oblique cases.		
	mas.	fem.	neutr.	mas.	fem.	neutr.	mas.	fem.	neutr.	mas	fem.	neutr.
High Hindí, ...	का	की	—	के	की	—	के	की	—	के	की	—
Braj Bháshá, ...	कौ	की	—	के	की	—	के	की	—	के	की	—
Alwar dialect, ...	को	की	—	के	की	—	का	की	—	के	की	—
Gaṇwárí, ...	कै	कै	—	के	के	—	कै	कै	—	के	के	—
Maithilí, ...	क	क	—	क	क	—	क	क	—	क	क	—
Naipálí, ...	को	की	—	का	की	—	का	की	—	का	की	—
Maráṭhí, ...	चा	ची	चें	च्या or चे	च्या or चे	च्या or चे	चे	च्या	चीं	च्या or चे	च्या or चे	च्या or चे
Gujarátí,*	नो	नी	नुं	ना	नी	नां	ना	नी	नां	ना	नी	नां
Panjábí, ...	दा	दी	—	दे	दी	—	दे	दी	—	दे	दी	—
Sindhí, ...	जो	जी	—	जे	जी	—	जा	जी	—	जे	जी	—
Bangálí, ...	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र	एर or र
Oṛiya, ...	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र	र

The *adjective* character of these so-called post-positions indicates that we must look for a *nominal* source of them in Sanskrit.

It is a well-known observation that in poetry and in the vulgar dialects, old grammatical forms are often preserved which have been altogether lost in the cultivated dialects. These archaic forms do the same service to the student of language as fossil remains do to the student of geology. They discover to us language in its earliest state from which it has developed into its present form.†

In the Gaṇwárí dialect, sometimes, there is found in the genitive the post-position कर, or करे, instead of कै. It is there confined to the pronominal declension; *e. g.*, इस का, of him, is in Gaṇwári एकर, or एकै; इस के is एकरे, or एके; इन का, of them, is एन्हकर, or एन्ह कै; इन के is एन्हकरे, or एन्ह के; again,

* The forms as in use among the Maráṭhís and Gujarátís settled in Benares and Gayá (and probably anywhere in the Hindí country) differ slightly from those given above. In Maráṭhí the form of the direct case plural of the neuter is चे, instead of चीं, and in the Gujarátí, the form of the oblique cases singular in all three genders is alike ने, instead of ना, नी, नां. These differences are evidently merely assimilations to the Hindí.

† "In every country it is in the poetry and in the speech of the peasantry that the ancient condition of language is best studied." Dr. Caldwell, Comp. Gram., p. 31.

किस की घर, whose house, is in Ganwárí केकर घर, or केके घर; किस के घर में in whose house, is केकरे घरे, &c. The same post-position करे is frequently met with in the Ramáyana of Tulsí Dás (about 1650, A. D.). But there it is not confined to pronouns, but also used in connexion with nouns, *e. g.*,

छत्रि जाति कर रोष ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: छत्रियों की जाति का क्रोध ॥

Lanká kand

Besides कर, Tulsí Dás uses sometimes another form which is still more archaic, viz. केर, or केरा, केरी, केरे. They are used exactly as का, की, के; as केर (केरा) corresponds to the Ganwárí क, so केरे to the Ganwárí करे; *e. g.*, करा occurs in the following verse:

सिर आनङ्ग सब शत्रुन्ह केरा *i. e.*

High Hindí: सिर ले आओ सब शत्रुओं का.

Lanká kand.

(Here possibly केरा might be used as a Nom. Pl., like का in the Alwar and Jaipúr dialect, and आ in Sindhí).

Again, एक नारि व्रत रघुपति केरा ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí, एक स्त्री रखना व्रत है राम का ॥

Again, केरी occurs in the following verses:

सगुन प्रतीति भेंट प्रिय केरी ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: सगुन की प्रतीति से प्रिय की भेंट (जानती है सीता) ॥

Ayudhyá kand

Or: सुनि कठोर बाणी कपि केरी ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: सुन के कठोर बाणी बन्दर की ॥

Lanká kand.

Or: अब सो सुनङ्ग बांह तेहि केरी ।
गइ जिमि लङ्क लषण शर प्रेरी ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: अब वह सुना कि बांह उस की ।
गया जिस प्रकार से लङ्का को लच्मण के बाण से फेंकी हुई ॥

Lanká kand.

Again केरे occurs in the following verses:

बन्दौं पद्‌सरोज सब केरे ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: मैं नमन करता हूं सरोज सदृश पद सभों के ॥

Bála kand.

Or: ए किरीट दशकन्धर केरे ॥

High Hindí: ये किरीट हैं दशकन्धर के ॥

Lanká kand.

An example of कर occurs in the following verse:

सो सुग्रीव कर लघु धावन ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: वह सुग्रीव का छोटा धावक है ॥

Lanká kand.

A contemporary of Tulsí Dás was Súra Dás (about 1650, A. D.). The following instances of the use by him of the same words (केरा or केरा, केरी, केरे) are taken from his poems called the Súra Ságar—

को तेरा पुत्र पिता तूं काको मिथ्या भ्रम जग केरो ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí : कौन तेरा पुत्र पिता तू किसका, यह मिथ्या भ्रम जगत् का है ॥

Sarávalí 12.

Or : भरोसो दृढ इन चरनन केरो ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí : भरोसा दृढ है इन चरनों का ॥

Sarávalí.

Or : भजिले सिरमोर नाथहीं सकल सुखद् केरो ॥

High Hindí : पूजन कर सिर मोर नाथ को सकल सुख देनेवालों की ॥

Nitya Kírtan, 49.

Considerably older than both Tulsí Dás and Súra Dás is *Kabír*. He lived about 1500, A. D. His *Rekhtahs* offer many instances of the use of केरा, केरी, केरे, as signs of the genitive. A few of them are the following :

सूकर स्वान के जन्मै धरई ।
जो गुरु केरी निन्दा करई । *i. e.*

High Hindí : सूअर और कुत्ते के जन्म को धरेगा ।
जो गुरु की निन्दा करेगा ॥

Or : आखर केरे वखत् में बन्द किस का करोगे दीदार ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí : अन्त के काल में हे बन्दे किसका करोगे दर्शन ॥

Still further back we come to *Chand Bardai*, who lived about 1200, A. D. An instance of the same use of केरे occurs in the following verse taken from his great epic the *Prithiráj ráyasá.*

ढारे गज अश्वं चड़वान केरा ॥

Book XIX, 41.*

If we now turn to the *Prákrit*, we find sometimes an adjective noun केरिक, or केरक, inserted between the genitive and the noun qualified by it. In such cases, the insertion appears to be perfectly *pleonastic*, that is, the sense is complete, even if the word करिक, or केरक, be altogether omitted. Whenever केरक is thus inserted, it agrees with the qualified noun in case, number, and gender, *i. e.*, is treated as an adjective ; *e. g.*,

* Unfortunately I have been unable to obtain a copy of Chand's epic, and, therefore, must content myself with giving this single example, which by a happy accident occurs in one of the notes appended by Mr. Beames to his translation of the 19th Book, printed in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Part I, No. III, of 1869. As I have not the context, I cannot speak with certainty ; but my suggestion as to the nature of केरा might perhaps be a solution of the difficulty which Mr. Beames felt in the meaning of the verse. It might explain the verse, without taking केरा as a verb and altering it into केर्यां, which is an objectionable emendation ; for there is (as Mr. Beames himself admits) no verb केरना in Hindí ; and the words "to *overthrow*" in such a connection are an anglicism.

तुमंपि अप्पणो केरिकं जादिं ण सुमरेसि ॥

Skr. त्वम् अपि आत्मनः जातिं न स्मरसि ॥

High Hindí: तू भी अपनी जाति को नहिं स्मरण करता है ॥

Mrichchhakati, Act VI.

Or: मम केरकेण भत्तपरिव्वएण पारलोइओ भत्ता अण्णेसीअदि ॥

Skr. मदीयेन भक्तपरिव्ययेन पारलौकिको भर्त्ता अन्विष्यते ॥

High Hindí: मेरे भात का खर्च करके परलोक सम्बन्धी स्वामी खोजा जाता है ॥

Ditto, Act I.

Or: कस्स केरकं एदं पवहणं ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. कस्य एतत् प्रवहणम् ॥

High Hindí: किस का है यह प्रवहण ॥

Ditto, Act VI.

Or: मम केलकं पुप्फकलंडकं जिण्णुज्जाणं पवेसिअ ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. मदीयं पुष्पकरण्डकं जीर्णोद्यानं प्रविश्य ॥ or

High Hindí: मेरे पुष्पकरण्डक पुराने बगीचे में प्रवेश करके ॥

Ditto, Act VIII.

Or: जदि मम केलिका वज्झवालिआ, ता चिट्ठदु दाव मुहुत्तम् ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. यदि मदीया वध्यपालिका, तदा तिष्ठतु तावत् मुहूर्त्तम् ॥ or

High Hindí: यदि मेरी मारने की पारी है तो ठहर जाए मुहूर्त्त भर ॥

Ditto, Act X.

In the two last examples, the common interchange of र and ल has taken place.

It may be noted in the foregoing examples, (1) that in none of them केरक (or केरिक) has a *predicative* sense. Were we to translate it by "made or wrought," it would turn the sentence into nonsense. It is every where perfectly superfluous, the sense being complete without it; (2) that केरक is used *pleonastically*, namely, that although inserted only in connection with a *genitive*, it is not yet used by itself to determine the genitive, but always employed over and above the ordinary genitive, hence forming a sort of double or *pleonastic* genitive; (3) that केरक is used in connection with *pronouns*. Compare in this respect the use of कर in Ganwárí with pronouns only. There are, however, instances in which केरक is also used in connexion with nouns; *e. g.*,

एसो क्खु अलङ्कारओ अज्जआ केरओ ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. एष खलु अलङ्कारः आर्य्यायाः ॥ or

High Hindí: यह तो भूषण है अय्या का ॥

Ditto, Act IV.

Or: एसे क्खु पवहणे अज्जचालुदत्ताह केलके ॥ *i. e.*

Skr. एतत् खलु प्रवहणं आर्य्यचारुदत्तस्य ॥ or

High Hindí: यह तो गाड़ी है आर्य्यचारुदत्त की ॥

In these examples, केरक still forms a *pleonastic* genitive. But some places occur where the original genitive termination is altogether dropped, and instead केरकं is joined to the *crude* base, with which it forms a *compound*, and thus determines by itself the genitive case, *e. g.*,

पेक्खदु अज्जो अह्माकेलके गेहदुआरं ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. प्रेक्षतां आर्य्यः अस्माकं गृहद्वारम् ॥ or
High Hindí : देखो आर्य्य हमारे घर का द्वार ॥

Ditto, Act IV.

Or : राअशालसंठाणकेलकं हगे शूले चक्कपडिवट्टिअं दइस्सं ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. राजश्यालसंस्थानस्य अहं शूरः चक्रपरिवृत्तिं दास्यामि ॥ or
High Hindí : राजश्यालसंस्थान का मैं सिपाही हूं गाड़ी चलाऊंगा ॥

In these examples केरक, evidently, forms no more a *pleonastic* genitive, but itself determines the genitive case of the word with which it is *compounded*, in the place of the real original case affix. It has clearly not only lost its *predicative* meaning, but has become altogether a determinative element, or a sort of affix.

But what was originally the meaning of this word केरक, and how did it come to lapse into the condition of a mere affix? In order to answer this question, we must go back to the Sanskrit. In one place पकेल्लक occurs *instead* of केरक, viz. :—

तुह पकेलके पवहणे जेण तुमं अग्गदो अहिलुहसि ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. तव प्रकृतं प्रवहणं येन त्वं अग्रतोऽधिरोहसि ॥ or
High Hindí : यह तेरी अपनी गाड़ी है कि तू आगे चढ़ता है ॥

The Sanskrit equivalent of पकेल्लक is प्रकृत.* The noun प्रकृति means 'nature,' that which distinguishes one from another. Hence, प्रकृति may mean, natural, peculiar, or *own ;* for what is peculiar to one, that is one's *own.* The word पकेल्लक therefore means *own*, and was originally inserted after the genitive to emphasize the *possessive* sense of the genitive. But in course of time, this original object of the insertion of पकेल्लक was lost sight of, and it was used simply to express the genitive itself. In fact, it may be shown that the genitive in many other languages arose by some such process.† As

* Literally it is प्रकृतक ; but it is a very common practice in Prákrit, of which numberless instances are found in the plays, to add the affix क to Sanskrit words without any effect upon the sense of the latter (cf. Pr. Prak. iv, 25, Com.).

† A good illustration of the process is mentioned by Max Müller in his Lectures on the Science of Languages. In Lect. II, page 79, he quotes the following remarks from an American paper about the Negro-English. "As to *Cases*, I do not know that I ever heard a regular possessive, but they have begun to develope one of their own, which is a very curious illustration of the way inflectional forms have probably grown up in other languages. If they wish to make the fact of possession at all emphatic or distinct, they use the whole word "own." Thus they will say "Mosey house." But if asked whose house that is, the answer is "Mosey own." "Co' Molsy y'own" was the

प्रकृत is the original of पकेलक, so कृत is the original of केरक (or केलक); and कृत (केरक) has the same meaning as प्रकृत (or पकेलक), just as कर means the same as प्रकर *doer*, and कार in the phrases इत्थम् कारम्, कथम् कारम्, &c., (cf. Siddhánta Kaumudí to Pan. 3, 4, 27, Vol. II, page 468) the same as प्रकार "manner."

But to return to the phonetic changes which केरक underwent, it is well known rule in Prákrit that non-initial single mute consonants ar elided (cf. Prákrita Prakáṣa II, 2.). Accordingly केरक becomes केरओ, a form which occurs in several of the examples already quoted. When two vowels meet in consequence of such an elision of a consonant, they are often contracted, in Prákrit already (cf. Pr. Prak. IV. 1.), but still more in its descendant, the Gaurian. Hence केरओ becomes in the Gaurian केरो, and this again changes into केरा. Thus the Sanskrit घाटकः, horse, is in Prákrit घोड़ओ, in the Gaurian घोड़ो (Alwarí and Sindhí), or घोड़ा (High Hindí). On the change of the final ओ to आ, as well as the change of the feminine termination आ to ई in केरी, see some remarks below and in Essay IV.

From केरा (or केरो), केरी, केरे, may be derived immediately the modern forms का (or को), की, के, by another step of phonetic decay. The elision of a medial र, though not noted in the Sútras of Vararuchi, occurs occasionally in the later Prákrit; *e. g.*, पइ, for परि, in

अकलिअपइरंभविब्भमाइं ।
णमह अणंगरइणो मोहणाइं ॥ *i. e.*
Sanskrit, अकलितपरिरम्भविभ्रमाणि ।
नमतानङ्गरत्योर्मोहनानि ॥

Karpúra Manjarí Saṭṭaka, verse 2.

But in the Gaurian the elision of a medial single र is not without example. For instance, the conjunction पै, *but*, clearly stands for the Sanskrit परम्, which occurs in Hindi also, and more commonly as पर. Similarly, the Ganwárí sign of the genitive कै has arisen from the other Ganwárí and poetic form कर. Another Hindí word कर (करि) which, however, has a different origin and stands for the Prákrit करिअ (Sanskrit कृत्वा), also becomes not uncommonly कै, especially in the older poets like Kabír, *e. g.*,

कहा भाव कैसे कै जानौ सत्य बचन कैसे कै मानौ ॥ or
High Hindí, कहा अभिप्राय कैसे करि जानूं सच्चो बात कैसे करि मानूं ॥

There is no great difficulty, therefore, in deriving का, की, के, from केरा, केरी; केरे, still another derivation is possible which I shall presently give, and

odd reply made by a little girl to the question, whose child she was carrying. Co' is little; y euphonic."—I think also, it can be shown that the affix स्य, by means of which many Sanskrit genitives are formed, is nothing else but a possessive pronominal base, equivalent to the common possessive pronominal base स्व, meaning "own."

which is not open to this difficulty. Before, however, proceeding to the consideration of it, I will dispose of another genitive post-position which, there appears little doubt, is really derived from केरा and thus medially from the Prákrit केरको, *viz.* the Bangálí genitive post-position एर, and the Bangálí and Oriya र.

In Bangálí, all adjectives which are derived through the Prákrit appear in the *crude base* (that is without the Prákrit endings ओ [masculine] or आ or ई [feminine] and anuswára [neuter]), and hence are alike in all genders and cases, *e. g.*, छोट बालक, little boy, and छोट बालिका, little girl (cf. Shama Churn Sircár's Bangáli Grammar, page 75, 2nd edition). Hence the Prákrit केरको or contracted केरो, would in Bangálí become केर. Now this form केर occurs now and then in Tulsí Das, who, in his Ramáyan, has laid all the principal Gaurian languages, and Bangálí among them, under contribution. An instance of a verse containing it, has been already quoted. I have above referred to the Prákrit rule of eliding a medial single mute consonant. The term medial includes also the initial consonant of a word which forms the last part of a compound (cf. Pr. Prak. II, 2); *e. g.*, Sanscrit सुपुरुषः becomes in Prákrit सुउरिसो; Sanskrit कुम्भकारः becomes in Prákrit कुम्भआरो, in Gaurian कुम्हार; Sanskrit चर्मकारः becomes Prákrit चम्मआरो, Gaurian चमार. I have also shown that, though in Prákrit केरक is generally used *pleonastically*, so that its concomitant word is also in the genitive case, yet in some instances it is made to form a compound with its concomitant word which then drops its genitive inflexion. This latter usage seems to have become exclusively established in the Bangálí, and in using केर in composition with the word in the genitive case, the initial क of the former is elided regularly. Thus we arrive at एर. Take for instance the genitive of सन्तान, a child; it would be सन्तान केरको, this would change to सन्तानकेर, and this to सन्तानएर, or (by contraction of the two adjoining vowels) सन्तानेर, which is the present genitive in Bangálí. By analogy, the other Bangálí genitive post-position र, which it shares with the Oriya, is probably a curtailment of the genitive sign कर, still occurring in Tulsí Dás and in the Ganwárí.

It has been already noticed that the Sanskrit equivalent for the Prákrit केरक is कृत. But कृत assumes various forms in Prákrit. Perhaps the most common, though not the most regular, form of it is किद (where the change of ऋ to इ takes place by Pr. Prak. I, 28, and that of त to द by Pr. Prak. II, 7), *e. g.*,

सुट्ठु दे किदं ॥=Sanskrit सुष्ठु ते कृतम् ॥

Or : अवकिदं विसुमलेदि ॥=Sanskrit अपकृतम् विस्मरति ॥

Or : एवं किदे किं भोदि ॥=Sanskrit एवं कृते किं भवति ॥

Next comes the form कद, formed regularly according to Pr. Prak. I, 27, and II, 7, *e. g.*,

पलिचालके कदम्हि ॥= Sanskrit परिचारकः कृतोऽस्मि ॥

Or : सुहु मए कद्दं ॥=Sanskrit सुष्ठु मया कृतम् ॥

The most regular form, though not so frequent, is कश्र with change of ऋ to श्र by Pr. Prak. I, 28, and elision of त by Pr. Prak. II, 2., in both of which sútras it is given among the examples. Another not unfrequent form is कड, (Pr. Prak. XI, 15), in which the त् of कृत under the influence of ऋ has changed to ड, a change not uncommon in Prákrit, as in पडिसरो, for प्रतिसरः, (Pr. Prak. II, 8, 28.), वुड्ढो for वृद्ध; शिलु पडदि for शिरः पतति, (Mrichchh. Act II page 62). Examples of कड are—

मलपल्लिवत्ते कडे ॥=Sanskrit स्वरपरिहृत्तिः कृता ॥

श्रड्डे गन्धे कडे ॥=Sanskrit श्रर्द्धगण्डः कृतः ॥ etc.

Another very rare form is कल, where the ल may be a substitution either for the ड of कड (by Pr. Prak. II, 23, as दालिमं for दाडिमम्, कौलम्ब for कौडाम्बः, Ratnáwali, Act I, page 21), or for the द् of कद् (by analogy of Pr. Prak. II, 12, as कलम्बो for कदम्बः) ; it occurs, *e. g.*, in कलनिच्चए ॥=Sanskrit कृता निश्चय ॥. From the form कल probably sprang the form केल, which occurs only in the augmented shape केलक, by the not uncommon substitution of an ए for the first श्र (cf Pr. Prak. I, 5, as सेज्जा for शय्या, तेरहो for त्रयोदश, पेरन्तं for पर्यन्तम्, &c.). The most extraordinary transformation of कृत, however, is the rare one कुलु which occurs, *e. g.*, in श्रले गन्ध्य कुलु=Sanskrit श्ररे गण्डः कृतः (Mrichchh. Act II, page 63). From either कल or कड, by the easy change of the linguals or ल into र (cf. Pr. Prak. II, 30), arose a further form कर ; unless it be considered itself the original of कल, which is equally possible ; or कर might also be derived direct from कद्; cf. Pr. Prak. II, 13, 14. The same relation as केलक to कल, केरक bears to कर ; and as कर is to कल, so केरक is to केलक. The form कर (as an indeclinable adjective like those in Bangáli) has been used, as already shown, in the vulgar and poetical Hindí, to express the genitive. And from it, as also explained already, probably the Bangáli and Oriya genitive sign र is derived, by the elision of the consonant क and loss of the vowel श्र through the contraction of the meeting vowels consequent upon that elision ; *e. g.*, घोड़ा कर = घोड़ाश्रर = घोड़ार.*

The other forms किद् or कद् or कश्र are, I think, the originals of the different modern Hindí post-positions का or कौ or को and their feminine की and inflected के. As the Prákrit केरको becomes (by elision of क) केरश्रो, and this again in the Gaurian (by contraction of the meeting vowels) केरो or केरा, so the Prákrit कद्दो becomes कश्रो, and this in the Gaurian को or कौ or का. As regards this final श्रा of का which corresponds to the masculine ending श्रा of all adjectives which have come into the Hindí through the Prákrit, it is every-

* Perhaps the possessive in Hindí मेरा, तेरा, तिहार, हमारा, तुम्हारा, &c., should be explained by means of this element (र for रा), the curtailment of कर (or करा), thus तुम्हारा Sanskrit युष्मत् कृतः—Prákrit तुम्ह करको ; for the commonly received derivation of these pronouns from the Sanskrit possessiva मदीय, त्वदीय, युष्मदीय, &c., is not without difficulties.

where the substitute of the Prákrit masculine nominative ending ओ. Adjective bases in अ end in Sanskrit in the nominative singular masculine in अः, feminine आ or ई, plural आः. These terminations change in the Prákrit in ओ, आ or ई, and आ. In the Alwarí dialect, as well as in the Sindhí and Naipálí, these terminations are preserved unchanged. The genitive postpositions in Alwarí and Naipálí are, nominative singular masculine को, nominative plural masculine का, feminine की; in Sindhí resp. जो, जा, जी; similarly, in all three languages, घोड़ो is a horse, घोड़ा horses, घोड़ी mare, &c. The Brajbháshá changes generally the Prákrit ओ into औ, and has therefore कौ, instead of को; similarly करयौ, for Prákrit करिअओ (Sanskrit कृतकः). The High Hindí finally changes the harsher diphthongs ओ or औ into the more agreeable vowel आ, and hence has का, करा for को or कौ, करिओ or करयौ. From को (or कौ or का) the feminine की was formed, according to the universal rule of the Hindí of forming the feminine in ई, instead of the Sanskrit or Prákrit आ. The origin of the feminine की and the inflected form के will be explained afterwards (see Essay IV).

The form किद् perhaps has even a better claim than the form कद् to be considered the original of का, की, के. It is true that so far as I have searched the Prákrit dialogues of Sanskrit dramas, I have not discovered an instance of either कदो or किदो being used in that *pleonastic* manner in which केरको is employed. While केरको is frequently used in a determinative sense (as affix of the genitive), I have never found कदो or किदो so used, but always in a predicative sense (as a proper participle past passive). But besides the direct proofs to be adduced hereafter (showing that किदो is the original of को), the following reasons will show that not much importance can be attached to the circumstance. In the first place, that no instance of किदो or कदो as genitive affix is found, is merely matter of accident. For altogether the use of a Prákrit form of the Sanskrit participle कृत in this determinative sense, is confined to *one* play, the Mrichchhakaṭi; and even there it occurs only about fourteen times (in the form केरक). This use of कृत was evidently *slang*. But while other plays also introduce low and vulgar people, they do it only on rare occasions and even then put a more or less refined language into their mouth; on the other hand, the Mrichchhakaṭi introduces low people very extensively, and allows them to express themselves freely in their native vulgar jargon. This explains also the occurrence, in the Mrichchhakaṭi, of other grammatical forms besides केरक, which are found in no other play. We may safely conclude that since the use of a Prákrit form of कृत to determine the genitive is confined to one play and even there, on account of its vulgarity, is only exceptionally introduced, the manner of its use there must not be taken as a measure of its use in general among the people. Among them, केरक was employed, no doubt, much more frequently, and very probably other forms of कृत (as कद्, किद्, &c.,) also, which were too vulgar to be admit-

ted at all into any play. There is nothing surprising in the fact that, among only about fourteen instances of केरक, the form किद or कद should never occur, seeing that the latter was probably the more vulgar expression of the two. And here I may call attention to the oft-observed fact that what had been once vulgar or slang phrases, or grammatical forms, during the classical period of a language, generally becomes the material out of which the language after its decay reconstructs itself. This law is well illustrated by the Romance languages. "The sources of Italian are not to be found in the classical Literature of Rome, but in the popular dialects of Italy. Hindústání is not the daughter of Sanskrit, as we find it in the Vedas, or in the later literature of the Bráhmans; it is a branch of the living speech of India, springing from the same stem from which Sanskrit sprang, when it first assumed its literary independence."* (2.) Moreover, there is direct proof that किदो and कदो were used in a determinative sense. In Sanskrit, कृते, the locative singular of कृत, is sometimes employed to express the dative. Even there it has nearly lost its originally predicative meaning, and has come to be regarded almost like a mere case-affix. But in the Prákrit and Gauṛian, कृते as well as other similar Sanskrit words, *e. g.*, अर्थे (Maráṭhi अठीं), सकाशे (Bangáli काछे, Hindí कने), have become mere case—signs of the dative. Now कृते is rendered in the Prákrit promiscuously by केरके (or केरकं), or by किदे, or by कदे. Examples of करक are the following—

हञ्जे तस्स केरकं त्ति कधं तुमं जाणासि ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. हे चेटि तस्य कृते इति कथं त्वं जानासि ॥ or
High Hindí : हे चेटि कि उस के लिये (आया है) यह तू कैसे जानती है ॥
Or : अज्जए अत्तकेरकं वि ण जाणामि ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. आर्ये आत्मनः कृतेऽपि न जानामि ॥ or
High Hindí : ह आर्य्या कि अपने लिये (आया है) यह भी मैं नहीं जानती हूं ।
Mrichchhakaṭi.

Or : एसे कस्स केरके पवहणे त्ति ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. एष कस्य कृते प्रवहण इति ॥ or
High Hindí : यह गाड़ी किस के लिये है ॥
Or : एसे राअशालसंठाणकेलके पवहणे त्ति ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. एष राजश्यालसंस्थानस्य कृते प्रवहण इति ॥ or
High Hindí : यह गाड़ी राजा के साला संस्थान के लिये है ॥
Ditto, Act. VI. page, 186.

Examples of किदे are—

कस्स किदे एदं आअदा ॥ *i. e.*

* Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, Lect. II., page 67. The greater part of that lecture (pp. 50 to 80) is devoted to this subject of what M. M. calls "dialectic regeneration."

Skr. कस्य कृतेऽयम् आगता ॥ or
High Hindí: किस के लिये मैं आयी हूं ॥

Ratnávalí, Act II, page 57.

Or: कीस तुमं सिविणअदंसणमेत्तकस्स किदे .....सन्तप्पसि ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. कस्मात् त्वं स्वप्नदर्शनमात्रस्य कृते.... सन्तप्यसे ॥ or
High Hindí: क्यूं तू केवल स्वप्न देखने के लिये ... पश्चात्ताप करती है ॥

Venisa*m*hára, Act II. page. 35.

An example of कदे is the following—

कधं मम मन्दभाइणीए कदे अज्जचालुदत्ते वावादीअदि ॥ *i. e.*
Skr. कथं मम मन्दभागिन्याः कृते आर्य्यचारुदत्तो व्यापाद्यते ॥ or
High Hindí: कैसे मुझ अभागी के लिये आर्य्यचारुदत्त मारा जाता है ॥

Mrichchhakaṭi, Act X. page 323.

It is more than probable then, that if किदे, or कदे, was used beside केरके, to express the dative, किदो or कदो was also employed beside केरको, to express the genitive. And I think it not impossible, that a more careful and extensive examination of Prákrit and the earliest Gauṛian literature, might bring to light instances of the use of किदो or कदो as affixes of the genitive.

But to proceed with the consideration of किदो. By the usual elision of the *medial* mute consonant, the form किओ would arise. This is, indeed, the usual form in which the participle कृत appears in the earlier Hindí poets (especially Súra Dás), where it is written कियो, with a slight accommodation to the pronunciation to avoid the hiatus. Generally, however, in such cases the vowel इ before ओ is changed to the corresponding semivowel य्; *e. g.*, Sanskrit रहितः = Prákrit रहिओ = Hindí रह्यो; Sanskrit कथितः = Prákrit कहिओ = Hindí कह्यो, &c., and in the Brajbháshá रह्यौ, कह्यौ, etc. Accordingly, किओ would become क्यो, and in the Braj Bháshá क्यौ. The reason why it is changed to कियो (or कियौ) is simply euphonism, an initial double consonant being difficult to pronounce. But when in other words (रह्यो, कह्यो) the double consonant would be medial and hence divisible between the two enclosing syllables, it is not avoided; and for the same reason the word कियो itself, when it is compounded with a prefix, is spelt क्यो in the Naipálí; *e. g.*, जब उ बाहिर निस्क्यो = Hindí जब वह बाहिर निकला (= S. निःकृतः). This is but the application of a well known Sanskrit Sandhi rule, according to which, *e. g.*, रि + अति = रियति; गु + अति = गुवति, but श्रियौ + ए = श्रियै, भानु + ओः = भान्वोः (cf. Siddh. Kaum. to Pan. 6, 4, 77, 64, 82, page 118.) Now when कियो is used to express the genitive, it is no more an independent word, but has sunk down to the position of an affix, and forms a compound with its concomitant word. Hence, क्य would have a medial position and, therefore, would not be avoided. Hence कियो, when used as a sort of genitive affix, would be contracted into क्यो (or क्यौ).

Lastly क्यो would, for reasons of euphony, be contracted into को (or कौ or का); just as the harsher forms रह्यौ or रह्यो, कह्यौ or कह्यो, &c., of the Braj

Bháshá are contracted in the High Hindí into the more euphonious रहा, कहा, &c. The following scheme will make the similarity still more manifest to the eye—

Sanskrit.		Prákrit.	Br. Bháshá.	Hindí.
(कथितः),	(क-)थितः =	(क-)हिदो =	(क-)हिओ = (क-)ह्यौ =	(क-)हा
(रहितः),	(र-)हितः =	(र-)हिदो =	(र-)हिओ = (र-)ह्यौ =	(र-)हा
(मारितः),	(मा-)रितः =	(मा-)रिदो =	(मा-)रिओ = (मा-)र्यौ =	(मा-)रा
(लगितः),	(ल-)गितः =	(ल-)गिदो =	(ल-)गिओ = (ला-)ग्यौ =	(ला-)गा
(कृतः),	(—)कितः =	(—)किदो =	(—)किओ = (—)क्यौ =	(—)का

A still more exact parrallel, than by these examples, is afforded by the Hindí था (feminine थी, plural थे), the past tense of the auxiliary verb होना, to be. For the original of था is स्थितः, the Sanskrit past participle of the verb स्था, to stand. The initial स् is dropped, as usual in Prákrit; likewise the medial त्; thus we arrive at थिओ; and this may change either to थियो, which would be exactly parallel to the Braj Bháshá कियो, or to थ्यो, which would be exactly parallel to the form क्यो, assumed by me as the *immediate* original of को (का). Now both थियो and थ्यो occur in the Naipálí, and are there the simultaneous equivalents of the Hindí था; *e g.*,

उसको नाँउँ अलीसबा थियो । *i. e.*

High Hindí: उसका नाम अलीसबा था । St. Luke i, 5.

Again: ई दुवै विधि मा निर्दोष थ्या । *i. e.*

High Hindí: ये दोनों विधि में निर्दोष थे । St. Luke i, 6.

Again: ई दुवै धेर वर्ष का थिया । *i. e.*

High Hindí: ये दोनों बहुत वर्ष के थे । St. Luke i, 7.

In the case of था, therefore, we can still follow its descent, step by step, from the Sanskrit स्थितः, through थिदो, थिओ, थियो, थ्यो, to था; while in the case of का unfortunately some of the links have been lost. But that को, or का, is really a direct descendant of the Sanskrit कृतः, just as था of स्थितः, is even more remarkably proved by the Naipálí; for in one case it actually makes use of को (feminine की, plural का) as a substitute of कृतः. The Naipálí, namely, possesses two forms of the past participle passive; one is the ordinary form, which it shares with all other Gauṛian languages; the other is a very peculiar *pleonastic* form, which I believe only one other Gauṛian language, *viz.*, the Maráṭhí, possesses. The difference between those two forms appears to be this, that the participle takes the common form, whenever it is used *actively* to denote the past tense active, and the *pleonastic* form whenever it is used *passively* as a participial adjective. The *pleonastic* form is made by superadding the past participle कृतः, contracted to को, to the common form of the past participle passive, and of the two participles, thus compounded, the latter cannot be inflected, whereas the former (*i. e.*, को) takes the inflexions, and agrees with the qualified noun in gender, number, and case,

(*i. e.*, masculine कोा, feminine की, plural and oblique का) ; *e. g.*, the past participle passive of लेखना, to write, used to form the perfect tense *active*, is लेखो (*i. e.*, Sans. लिखितः) ; but with the proper *passive* sense, it is लेख्या को (*i. e.* Sanskrit लिखितः कृतः, or Hindí लिखा ऊआ or गया), thus "the Gospel written by Luke" is लूकले लेख्या को शुभसमाचार (*i. e.* Sanskrit लूकेन लिखितः कृतः शुभसमाचारः or Hindí : लूकसे लिखा ऊआ शुभसमाचार) ; but "Luke wrote a Gospel" is लूकले लेखो शुभसमाचार (*i. e.*, Sanskrit लूकेन लिखितः शुभसमाचारः, or Hindí लूक ने लिखा शुभसमाचार). A few other examples are: कोहि नगर नासरा भन्या का मा परमेश्वर बाट दूत पठाया को थियो *i. e.*, High Hindí कोई नगर नासरा कहे ऊए में प॰ बाट दूत भेजा गया था (Lit. Sanskrit कस्यापि नगरस्य नासरा भणितस्य कृतस्य मध्ये परमेश्वरसमीपात् दूतः प्रस्थापितः कृतः स्थितः) St. Luke i, 26, 27. Again, उ एक मानिस सित वाग्दत्त भया की थिई, *i. e.*, High Hindí वह एक मनुष्य के साथ वाग्दत्त भयी गयी थी (or Sanskrit सा......भता कृता स्थिता) St. Luke i, 27. Again, तेरे बिन्ती सुन्या को छ *i. e.*, High Hindí तेरा बिनय सुना गया है (or Sanskrit श्रुतः कृतोऽस्ति) St. Luke i, 14. Again, उ बाँझो भन्या को को यो छैठां महिना भयो *i. e.*, High Hindí वह बांझ कही ऊई का छठा महीना ऊआ. In this last example, the participle को and the genitive affix को are side by side.*

Whichever be thought the more probable derivation of का, either from कद् or किद्—and this can only be decided after a more thorough examination of the earliest Gauṛian literature—I hope, I have succeeded in proving so much beyond doubt, that the Sanskrit participle कृत is in one form or the other the original of the genitive post-positions.

There remains briefly to consider the post-positions in the other Gauṛian languages. In the case of most of them my remarks are not meant to be

* A very similar, though not quite so parallel case is that of भा, a past participle of होना, to be, which still occurs in the Ganwárí, and is also met with now and then in Tulsí Dás. It stands for the High Hindí ऊआ (Sanskrit भूतः), and the Low Hindí भवा, or भया. It occurs, for instance, in the following verse of Tulsi Dás,

अब मोहिं भा भरोस हनुमन्ता ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí: अब मुझे ऊआ भरोसा हे हनुमान् ॥

Sundar káṇḍ.

भा is a curtailment of the Low Hindi भवा or भया, which are both probably derived from a Prákrit भविद्रो (for Sanskrit भूतः). From भविद्रो, by the elision of द्, would come भविश्रो, भव्यो, भवा, and from the same, by the elision of both द् and व, would come भइश्रो = भया = भया. Another parallel case, I believe, we have in the syllable गा (feminine गी, plural गे), which forms the Hindí future tense; *e. g.*, होगा, he will be. For it stands probably for गया, the Hindí past participle of जाना, to go; and गया itself is connected with the Sanskrit गतः, and Prákrit गश्रो or (with insertion of an euphonious य्) गयो. Compare also पा in the Low Hindí phrase पा जाना, to be found, for पाया जाना, and का, the Low Hindí for क्या, what?

more than suggestions of their probable origin, founded partly on the fact of the common origin of all Gauṛian languages, partly on Prákrit analogies.

In the Maráṭhí genitive post-positions चा, ची, चे, a simple transformation of the guttural क् of का, की, के into a palatal च has taken place. For the rest they must be derived from the Sanskrit कृत in the same manner as का, की, के. There is only one other instance known to me in Maráṭhí of such a change of gutturals and palatals : it is that of the Sanskrit किरातः barbarian into the Maháráshṭri चिलादो which is the subject of a special rule in the Prákrita Prakása (II. 33.) But the change is physiologically very easy (cf. Max Müller, Science of Languages Lect. III, page, 155 vol. 2nd), and by no means uncommon in the Aryan languages in general (cf. Bopp, Comp. Gram. § 14 page 25).*

The origin of the Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujarátí post-positions I explain alike, in a manner similar to that in which I have explained the Bangálí and Oṛiya post-positions र and एर; *viz.* that they have originated from a Prákrit form of कृत by the elision of the initial consonant क and contraction (by *Sandhi*) of the two adjoining vowels.

The original of the Panjábí post-positions दा, दी, दे is the form कदो or किदो; probably the latter.† Take for instance the genitive of घोड़ा horse. It may be assumed to have been originally घोड़े किदो.‡ Here the original

* I had written the above remarks when I received a copy of the Student's Manual of Maráṭhí Grammar. In the appendix on the grammatical forms which occur in *old Maráṭhí poetry*, a few forms are given which confirm my theory in a remarkable way. The old form of the masculine चा and the neuter चें is there (page 138) stated to be resp. चिया and चियें. Now चिया represents a Prákrit form चियो and is the very form which, a few pages back, I postulated as the immediate original of the Hindí का (taking क् and च् to be interchangeable letters) and about which I expressed a hope that a more thorough examination of the oldest Gauṛian literature might bring to light traces of it. I, there, derived का (or चा) thus : Sanskrit कृतः, Prákrit किदो = किओ (or चिओ), = either कियो (or चियो) or क्यो (or च्यो) = का (or चा).—The derivation of चा (in the same grammar page 132) from the Sanskrit genitive affix स्य is untenable. 1*stly*, because even if स्य could be the original of चा, it certainly could not be so of the older from चियो. 2*ndly*. The Sanskrit स्य is unchangeable, while चा is capable of forming case, number, and gender. 3*rdly*. Against the Sanskrit derivative affix त्य as well as against the inflexional affix स्य all those objections lie which I have pointed out with reference to the derivation of the Hindí का from the Sanskrit affix क or कीय.

† The Panjábí dictionary of the Lodiáná Mission gives a form दिचां, a preposition or genitive particle. If this can be trusted, it would seem to indicate that the initial द् of the Panjábí post-positions is a modification of the original क् of किदो See on this interchange of the guttural and dental class, Bopp's Comparative Grammar, § 401.

‡ I must reserve the explanation of the inflected from घोड़े for another paper.

meaning of किदो was no more felt; it had become like a mere affix and had assumed an *enclitic* position, forming *one* word with घोड़े. Hence, as in compound words, the (now medial) consonant क was elided, and the two adjoining vowels ए + इ contracted (by dropping इ); thus we have घोड़े इदो = घोड़े दो. Finally as in High Hindí the harsh diphthong ओ was changed to the more agreeable vowel आ; thus घोड़े दा. The process here assumed is well illustrated by the origin of the interrogative pronoun कौन who. In Prákrit the interrogative pronoun को (= Sanskrit कः) has almost invariably appended to it, the *enclitic* पुनर्; thus को पुनर्; here the consonant प् is always elided; thus को उण; in the Gauṛian again the two adjoining vowels ओ + उ are contracted (by dropping उ), thus कौन.*

The Sindhí post-positions जो, जी, जे, जा may have originated from the form कियो (= किओ = किदो), by exactly the same process as explained above in the case of दा; thus घोड़े कियो = घोड़े इयो = घोड़े यो. Finally the initial semivowel य of यो would change, according to a general rule of the Prákrit (P. P. II, 31) and Gauṛian, into the palatal consonant ज्; thus घोड़े जो.†

The Gujarátí post-positions नो (नी, नुं, etc.) I am inclined to derive from an obsolete Prákrit form of कृत, *viz.* किणो or कुणो in the same way as the Panjábí दा from किदो, or the Sindhí जो from कियो. That such a Prákrit form must have once existed, is clearly proved by the Hindí. In poetry, an old Hindí form कीन्हा or कीना often occurs equivalent to कृतः made or done. Two other old Hindí past participial forms, exactly analogous to them, also occur in poetry, *viz.* दीन्हा or दीना given (= Sanskrit दत्तः) and लीन्हा or लीना taken (= Sanskrit लब्धः).‡ Now the derivation of दीना is well assured

Here I will only say that I consider the termination ए to be a modification of the Sanskrit genitive termination अस्य (of bases in अ), which in Prákrit becomes अस्स (or आस or आह) or से. The curtailment of किदो or कदो into दो must be supposed to have taken place contemporaneously with the modification of the Prákrit termination आस or आह or से into the Gauṛian ए (Hindí, Panjábí, Sindhí) or आ (Mar. Gujar.).

* A Prákrit lingual ण generally changes into the dental न in Hindí. In the Alwar dialect the pronoun is still कोउन; in the Ganwárí and in Hindí poetry (e. g. of Chand Bardai) it is कवन; compare in Maráṭhí चवथ fourth for the Prákrit चउथ. It may be noticed also that the vowels इ and उ which are elided, are preceded by their own corresponding diphthongs ए and ओ.

† The Sindhí post-positions admit, however, also of a different explanation. Their initial ज् might be merely a softening of the initial च् which we have in the Maráṭhí. As a somewhat parallel case we may compare the Nipálí छन् (they are), to which corresponds in the Low Hindí of Alwar छैं and in High Hindí हैं (*i. e.* Sanskrit सन्ति).

‡ Of these pairs those containing the न् are later and occur generally in Tulsí

According to the Prákrit Prakáṣa VIII, 62, the participal past passive of the root दा to give is in Prákrit दिस (for Sanskrit दत्त) and from दिस by a regular process of phonetic modification, which I shall explain later on, the form दीन* originated. By analogy it follows that the other two forms कीना and लीना must also be derived from original Prakrit forms किस and लिस (of the roots कृ and भृ). It is true that neither किस nor लिस are supported by any of Vararuchi's Sútras, nor by the Prákrit of the plays founded upon those Sútras. But as the process of phonetic change was certainly not stopped by Vararuchi's Sútras, the phase of Prákrit exhibited in his Sútras cannot be taken as a measure of what Prákrit may have been at a much later period. There is not the least difficulty, therefore, in assuming that the Prákrit of later times and perhaps among the vulgar, contained many forms which have not found admittance in Vararuchi's Sútras or in dramatic Prákrit. Among those later or more vulgar forms किस and लिस must have been.† Their existence is necessary to account for the existence of the

Dás. The others without ह् are the more original ones and occur for example in Kabír Chand; *e. g.*,

जेहि मुनीश जो आयसु दीन्हा ।
सो जनु काज प्रथम तेहि कीन्हा ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí: जिस को मुनीश जो आदेश दिया ।
सो कार्य मानो पहले उस ने किया ॥

Tulsi Dás Ramáyaṇ, Ajudhya Káṇḍ.

Again: जारि वारि कै सुपना दीना ।
कहै आई ओतार हि लीना ॥ *i. c.*
High Hindí: जला करके सुपना दिया ।
कहता है आके ओतार को लिया ॥

Kabír, Rekhtás.

Again: गज चरम आसन कीन ।
पढी जमन वेद नवीन ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí: हाथी का चर्म का आसन किया ।
यावनों का नाया वेद पढने को ॥

Pr. Ráj Ráy., I, 11.

Again: कारन कवन भेष मुनि कीनैं ।
रोकि पर्वालि ग्रंथै कहा लीनैं ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí: क्या कारन कि मुनि का भेष किया ।
मार्ग रोकने को पंथ क्या लिया ॥

Pr. Ráj Ráy., I, 18.

* The dental न for original ण according to general Hindí usage.

† In P. P. VIII, 13, it is stated the root कृ or कर् may change into कुण; *e. g.* कुणइ he does for करइ (= Sanskrit करोति). From कुण a past. part. passive कुष may be derived and it is not improbable, that कुष might change into किष by the analogy of दिष just as *e. g.* पुरुष man changes into पुरिष; cf. P. P. I, 23.

forms कीना and हीना which certainly do exist. From an original Prákrit किणो then, through the intermediate modification कीनो, I think the Gujaráti genitive post-positions ना, &c., may be derived.

Having thus explained the derivation of the various Gauṛian post-positions of the genitive, I now proceed to state another important evidence in support of my theory. I have shown that the word केरक was used in two different ways in Prákrit to express the genitive, *viz.*, 1st, as a *mere affix*, in which case it was *compounded* with the word which was to be put into the genitive case; 2nd, as a *pleonastic* insertion, in which case the word which was to be put into the genitive case, retained its *organic* genitive inflexion. Now I have tried to prove that the Bangálí post-positions एर and र and the Oṛiya post-position र are derived from the Prákrit केरक employed in the former manner. On the other hand the Hindí post-position केरा (केरो, केरे) are derived from the same Prákrit करक employed in the second manner and the Hindí post position का (को, के) as well as the post-positions of all Gauṛian languages of the Hindí class (*i. e.* Naipálí, Maráṭhí, Gujaráti, Sindhí, Panjábí, but exclusive of Bangálí and Oṛiya) are derived from the Prákrit form किद (किण respectively), also employed in the *second* manner. This accounts why the initial क् was lost in Bangálí and Oriya, while it was retained in Hindí, Naipálí and Maráṭhí. It is true क् was dropped (if my derivation be true) in the Panjábí, Sindhí and Gujarátí; but this is accounted for by the circumstance that though the words किदो and किणो remained independent words, yet being only *pleonastic*, they became *enclitic*, and hence liable to *phonetic* corruption in the initial letters by contact with the principle word, on which they leant. However the main point to which I wished to call attention is this, that if my theory of explanation of the genitive post-positions of the Hindí class of the Gauṛian languages is true, it may be expected that traces of their being a *pleonastic* insertion, and of the existence of an *organic* genitive of the inflected word will have remained. A few such traces, I think, I can prove to exist, and considering the extent to which *phonetic* decay has gone in the modern languages of India, I think they are sufficiently distinct and remarkable.

In Hindí poetry, such combinations as तेहि केरा, तेहि का, ताहि का (all = उसका or तिसका) or केहि केरा (= किस का) &c., are not uncommon; *e. g.*,

सूर प्रभु अंग अंग छवि कहां पाये केहि केरे ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí: हे सूरप्रभु किस के अंगों में शोभा कहां पायी गयी ॥

Súra Dás, Súrságar, Rágvilása.

Or: बांधों आज ताहि को डोरे ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí: मै बांधूं आज तुझ को ये डोरे ॥

Ibidem, 162.

Or : ताही के भये डाढी खोरा ताही के भये चोरा ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí : तिस के ऊए थाली कटोरा तिस के ऊए चोर ॥

Kabír's Rekhtás.

Now these forms तेहि or ताहि, केहि or काहि, जेहि or जाहि, तोहि, मोहि, &c., are nothing but phonetic corruptions of the Sanskrit genitive तस्य, कस्य, यस्य, &c. No doubt when standing by themselves they are commonly used to express the *dative* case and even any other case (ablative, instrumental, locative) ; but that is owing to the fact (i) that the *dative* case has disappeared altogether from the Prákrit and the Gaurian, and has been substituted by the genitive and (ii) that in poetry all case-signs (or post-positions) are generally omitted. But instances are not wanting where those forms are used even by themselves in the sense of the genitive ; *e. g.*,

जाहि ग्यान रूपी नेन नाहीं सो आंधरो है । *i. e.*
High Hindí : जिस का ग्यान रूपी नैन नहीं सो अंधा है ॥

Rájníti, page 3.

Or : प्रभु पयान जाना बैदेही ।
फरके बाम अंग शुभ तेही ॥ *i. e.*
High Hindí : प्रभु को याचा जानी सीता ने ।
फरके शुभ बाँयें अंग उसके ॥

Tulsí Dás Ramáyan, Sundarkáṇḍ.

2. In the High Hindí the interrogative pronoun कौन forms its genitive किसका, the relative जो forms जिसका, the demonstrative सो forms तिसका, वह forms उसका, यह forms इसका. These forms किस, जिस, तिस, उस, इस have never been explained. The fact, however, is that they are by themselves already full genitives so that किसका, जिस का, &c., are in reality double or *pleonastic* genitives. In Prákrit there are two forms of the base of these pronouns, one ending in अ, the other in इ (*viz.* क and कि, ज and जि, त and ति of which all इ bases, with the solitary exception of किम् *what* have been lost in Sanskrit). The bases कि, जि, ति, are in the Prákrit, as we know it now, restricted generally to the feminine ; but that originally it was not so, is proved by the fact that in the masculine the forms किणा, जिणा, तिणा of the instrumental case occur as alternatives besides केण, जेण, तेण. Now the genitive of the masculine bases कि, जि, ति is किस्स, जिस्स, तिस्स (feminine किस्सा, जिस्सा, तिस्सा ; for the Sanskrit किस्य, जिस्य तिस्य ; feminine किस्याः etc. by the common rule of the Prákrit of assimilating dissimilar compound consonants, cf. P. P. III, 2.) In the modern dialects there is a general rule, that where the Sanskrit has two dissimilar consonants adjoining and the Prákrit turns these into two

similar consonants, the Gaurian elides one of the latter and lengthens the preceding vowel.* The following examples will illustrate this rule:

Sanskrit.	Prákrit.	Gaurian.	Sanskrit.	Prákrit	Gaurian.
कर्म	कम्म	काम	वार्त्ता	वत्ता	बात
कर्ण	कण्ण	कान	अग्रे	अग्गे	आगे
कार्य	कज्ज	काज	अद्य	अज्ज	आज
अष्ट	अट्ठ	आठ	अग्नि	अग्गि	आग
हस्त	हत्थ	हाथ	शुष्क	सुक्ख	सूख
फाल्गुन	फग्गुन	फागुन	दुग्धा	दुद्ध	दूध
आत्मा	अप्पा	आप	etc.	etc.	etc.

But there are exceptions to this rule. One of the most common of these is सब all from Prakrit सव्व and Sanskrit सर्व.† The genitive किस्स, जिस्स, तिस्स &c., are also exceptional and become in Hindí किस, जिस, तिस, &c. It follows, therefore, that the forms किसका etc. are *pleonastic* genitives. Rendered in Prakrit they would be किस्स किरो (or किस्स केरको), etc., with which may be compared the genitive कस्स केरक quoted above on page 23.

3. In most Gaurian languages the termination of the noun in inflexion, *i. e.* when followed by post-positions, undergoes some change, generally into ए or आ; *e. g.*, Hindí घोड़ा genitive घोड़े का; Maráṭhí देव genitive देवाचा. These inflexional forms, I believe, to be simply modifications of the old organic genitives of the Sanskrit. I must content myself, however, here with this simple statement, and reserve the substantiation of it to a future paper on the inflexional bases of nouns.

Essay III.

On the Inflexional Base of Nouns.

In the former essay I promised a paper on the inflexional base of Gaurian nouns. The present essay will be devoted to this subject, the discussion of which, it seems best to insert here, as it offers an important confirmation of the theory set forth in the former essay, and a foundation for the treatment of the other inflexional post-positions in the subsequent essays.

In most Gaurian languages, there are classes of nouns which exhibit a different form when placed in connexion with post-positions (*i. e.* in all oblique cases) from that which they have when they stand by themselves (*i. e.* in the nominative case). The former form I shall call the *oblique form;* it is identical with what is often called the inflexional base. The

* Traces of this law are seen already in Prákrit, *e. g.*, Sanskrit वस्य becomes in Prákrit वस्स or वास see P. P. VI, 5; or Sanskrit दीर्घं, Prákrit दिग्घं or दीघं; Sanskrit ईश्वरः, Prákrit इस्सरो or ईसरो; Sanskrit रात्रि, Prákrit रत्ती or राद्दी or राई; see P. P. III, 58.

† Also सच, true, from Prákrit सच्च and Sanskrit सत्य; but in Naipálí regularly साच.

form of the noun in the nominative case I shall distinguish as the *direct form.*

In the present essay these *forms* of the noun in the plural will be altogether set aside, as in some Gaurian languages they are of a nature, altogether different from that of these *forms* of the noun in the singular. For the present I must assume this; the proof will be given afterwards in another essay. But it will greatly simplify the enquiry to confine our attention for the present to the singular.

In the Hindí only one class of nouns possesses an *oblique form* in the singular; *viz.*, all *masculine* nouns the *direct form* of which ends in such an आ, as is a modification of the Prákrit nominative sing. masculine termination ओ. The *oblique form* differs from the *direct form* in changing the termination आ to ए; *e. g.*, nominative घोड़ा horse, genitive घोड़े का; बड़ा large, बड़े का &c. The above definition implies that all those nouns have passed into the Hindí from the Prákrit and, therefore, excludes all such nouns ending in आ as have been transferred to the Hindí direct from the Sánskrit or Arabic; *e.g.*, राजा king, पिता father, देवता God, मुल्ला priest, खोदा God, &c. All other nouns, whether masculine or feminine, have no *oblique form* differing from the *direct form*; *e. g.*, nominative, पिता father, genitive पिता का; जल water, genitive जल का; माली gardener, genitive माली का; साधु devotee, gen. साधु का; पुत्री daughter, genitive पुत्री का; बात (fem.) word, gen. बात का, &c.

The Panjábí agrees with the Hindí in every particular; *e. g.*, nominative मुंडा boy, gen. मुंडे दा; but आत्मा soul, gen. आत्मा दा; मनुख man, gen. मनुख दा; पाली herdsman, gen. पाली दा; पिउ father, gen. पिउ दा; काउँ crow, gen. काउँ दा; बला calamity, gen. बला दा; माउँ mother, gen. माउँ दा; धी daughter, gen. धी दा. To the masc. nouns in आ must be counted also those terminating in आं; *e. g.*, बनीआं shopkeeper, gen. बनिएं दा. (See Panjábí Grammar of the American Mission in Lodiáná).

The Sindhí follows the Hindí and Panjábí with this qualification, that it retains the Prákrit termination ओ, and that, therefore, to the Hindí and Panjábí class of nouns in आ correspond in Sindhí the nouns ending in ओ. The *oblique form* changes the terminations ओ of the *direct form* into ए, as in Hindí and Panjábí; *e. g.*, nominative घोड़ो horse, gen. घोड़े जो; but मुर्सु man, gen. मुर्स जो; जाल woman, gen. जाल जो; गाल्ह word, gen. गाल्ह जो; घोड़ी mare, gen. घोड़ीअ जो; मानी bread, gen. मानीअ जो &c. (See W. H. Wathen's Sindhí Grammar).

The Naipálí and Gujarátí again agree with the Sindhí, with this exception that they change the termination ओ of the *direct form* into आ of the *oblique form* instead of ए. Similarly the Gujarátí neuter nouns in उं change their final in the *oblique form* into आं; *e. g.*,

Naipálí;	nominative	कुरा	word,	gen.	कुरा का;
but	„	राजा	king	„	राजा को
	„	सन्तान	son	„	सन्तान का
	„	पहि	course	„	पहि का
	„	प्रभु	lord	„	प्रभु को

(Examples from St. Luke's Gospel.)

Gujarátí;	nominative	masc.	धंधा	business	gen.	धंधा ना
	„	neut.	सोनुं	gold	„	सोनां नो;
but	„	masc.	देव	God	„	देव ना
	„	„	राजा	king	„	राजा ना
	„	„	मोची	shoe maker	„	मोचीं ना
	„	„	लाडु	sweetmeat	„	लाडु नो
	„	fem.	बाला	girl	„	बाला नी
	„	„	पोथी	book	„	पोथी नी
	„	„	सासु	mother-in-law	„	सासु नी
	„	„	हरडे	yellow myr.	„	हरडे नी
	„	„	रवै	churningstaff	„	रवै नी
	„	„	घो	iguana	„	घो नी
	„	neut.	जंगल	thicket	„	जंगल नो
	„	„	पाणी	water	„	पाणी ना

(See Grammar of Shapurji Edalji.)

It is manifest that all these Gauṛian languages allow an *oblique form* only to such nouns as have passed *directly* or *immediately* from the Prákrit into the Gauṛian, which form part, as it were, of the original stock of vocables with which the Gauṛian started on its way of development, when it first began to become a distinct language beside Prákrit. These nouns (*viz.* those which admit of an *oblique form*) I shall always in future distinguish briefly as the *Prákritic elements* of the Gauṛian.

Besides these *Prákritic* elements of the Gauṛian, there is another class of nouns in the above-mentioned languages (*viz.* Hindí, Panjábí, Sindhí, Gujarátí, Naipálí, which I shall in future call for brevity's sake the *Hindí-class Gauṛian*), the nature of which is unmistakable to any one acquainted with the phonetic peculiarities of Prákrit and Sanskrit. They are purely *Sanskrit.* As the Prákrit tolerates no compound consonant in the beginning, nor a *dissimilar* compound consonant in the middle of a word; further as it generally either changes a medial surd mute consonant to the corresponding sonant one, or elides it altogether; and as it generally changes an aspirate mute consonant to the simple aspirate ह, it follows, that, 1, *every* Gauṛian word containing a compound consonant in the beginning or a dissimilar compound consonant in the middle must be *Sanskritic* (barring of course all *foreign* words); 2. *Most* Gauṛian words containing a medial surd mute or aspirate are *Sanskritic, e. g.*, wrath is in Hindí both क्रोध and

काच ; but the latter is *Prákritic*, whereas the former is purely Sanskritic ; again कर्म or कार्य work are Sanskritic, but काम or काज are Prákritic ; again लिखित written is Sanskritic, but लिक्खा or लिखा is Prákritic, &c. &c.* All such nouns I shall call the *Sanskritic elements* of the Gauṛian. It needs no proof to show that this *Sanskritic* element is the most modern part of the Gauṛian ; modern, that is, not absolutely, but relatively to the other elements ; for the presence of some of the *Sanskritic* element dates from some centuries. But a very slight examination of the Hindí literature will show that this *Sanskritic* element is least present in its oldest specimens, and that it increases in proportion as the date of the literature approaches our own times. In the High Hindí it preponderates very largely, and, as I have already remarked in the introductory essay, its introduction is still progressing.

Now what happens when we see a Sanskrit word naturalised, as it were, in the Gauṛian (High Hindí) ? It is simply taken in the form of the Sanskrit nominative sing. In this form it remains stereotyped in the Gauṛian and serves as the Gauṛian *Inflexional base* for all cases, the nominative, as well as the oblique ones ; *e. g.*, wise is in Hindí बुद्धिमान्, gen. बुद्धिमान् का. This inflexional base बुद्धिमान् is nothing but the nominative sing. of the Sanskrit word (or rather *base*) बुद्धिमत्. Again soul is in Hindí आत्मा (with gen. आत्मा का) which is merely the Sanskrit nominative sing. of the base आत्मन्. The same word occurs in Hindí also in the *Prákritic* form आप (for Prákr. अप्पा) in the sense of an honorific term of address. It follows from this as the distinctive principle of the (Hindí-class) Gauṛian,† that they have 1, lost the power of forming organic inflexions of a noun (as the Sanskrit and Prákrit do.) 2. That they leave their inflexional bases unchanged and indicate their inflexion by post-positions, and 3, that they use as their bases the nouns in the *nominative singular* belonging to a former and now fossil state of the language (*viz.*, to Sanskrit or, as we shall presently see, to Prákrit) ; having thus become unconscious of the already inflected nature of its nouns.

It has been now shown that the *Prákritic* element of the (Hindí-class) Gauṛian contains all those nouns which admit of an *oblique form*, and

* Those are only a few of the more broad and general criteria. There are others also ; *e. g.*, in the High Hindí (not in the low Hindí of Alwar) every lingual ण of the Prákrit (which, as is well known, not only retains all Sanskrit lingual ण, but changes even every *single*, dental न of the Sanskrit into the lingual ण) is changed into a dental न even in those cases where the Prákrit represented the original Sanskrit ण. Hence every Hindí word containing a lingual ण must be Sanskritic ; *e. g.*, करना to do is *Prákritic*, but करणीयं to do and कारण cause are *Sanskritic* ; कान ear is *Prákritic*, but कर्ण ear Sanskritic, &c.

† *I. e.*, of the Gauṛian after its full development as a distinct and separate language ; leaving out of account, therefore, the *Prákritic* element, which represents a state of the Gauṛian, when it was not yet distinct from Prákrit.

that all *Sanskritic* elements (of the Gaurian) belong to that class of nouns which admit of no *oblique form*, a class which is much more extensive than the other. But *Sanskritic* elements do not account for the whole of the nouns belonging to that class. There are many nouns in this class which 1., exhibit all the phonetic peculiarities (enumerated above) of the Prákrit; which 2., have the form of the nominative sing. of the Prákrit; and which 3., preserve this form unchanged in all cases (*i. e.*, do not admit of an *oblique form*), indicating their inflexion by post-positions; *e. g.*, elephant is in Hindí हाथी; it is identical with the Prákrit nominative singular हत्थी (= Sanskrit हस्ती, nominative singular of the base हस्तिन्), and is in Hindi the (*inflexional*) base of which the nominative is हाथी, the gen. हाथी का, &c. From this we conclude, 1., that all these nouns have been transferred to the Gaurian not from the Sanskrit, but from the Prákrit; but 2., that they were so transferred *not before* the distinctive principles of the Gaurian had fully established themselves, *i. e.*, after the Gaurian had finally and entirely replaced the Prákrit as a separate and distinct language. These nouns, therefore, have an altogether different nature from those nouns which constitute the *Prákritic* elements of the Gaurian. The latter are the earliest elements of the Gaurian which were transferred to it from the Prákrit at that early time when the principles of the Gaurian were not yet *formed*, but only in process of formation; when as yet the Gaurian was only a much decayed dialect of the Prákrit. Hence the *Prákritic* elements have a mixed character, half Prákrit, half Gaurian; Prákrit they are in showing traces of *organic inflexion*, *viz.*, in the *oblique form* (as differing from the *direct form* of the nominative); Gaurian, in preserving their *oblique form* unchanged in all oblique cases alike, indicating the difference of the various oblique cases by post-positions. On the other hand the other Prákrit nouns entered the Gaurian when its principles were fully formed; and, therefore, becoming subject to the force of those principles, they were fully assimilated by the Gaurian. I shall therefore in future denominate all such nouns as the *proper Gaurian* elements of the Gaurian, to distinguish them from the *Prákritic* elements on the one hand, and from the *Sanskritic* elements on the other hand.*

Thus we have seen that the whole of the Gaurian nouns are divided into three classes. 1. The *Prákritic* element containing all nouns, which admit an *oblique form*. 2. The *proper Gaurian* element containing one part

* By the term "Gaurian element" only, I shall designate both the *proper Gaurian* and the *Sanskritic* elements together. For all Gaurian nouns may be divided thus:—

1. *Prákritic* nouns, *i. e.*, admitting an *oblique form*.
2. *Gaurian* nouns, *i. e.*, not admitting an *oblique form*.
    a. *Gaurian proper*.
    b. *Sanskritic*.

of the nouns which do not admit an *oblique form.* 3. The *Sanskritic* element containing the remaining part of the nouns which do not admit an *oblique form.* And from what has been explained above, it follows further that these three elements or classes represent three, *in the main,* successive stages in the development or periods in the history of the Gauṛian languages. The *Prákritic* element exhibits the Gauṛian in its earliest stage (probably before 800 A. D.) Next comes the *proper Gauṛian* element which shows the Gauṛian in its middle stage (extending probably from about 800 to 1300 A. D.) Lastly comes the *Sanskritic* element showing the Gauṛian in its modern form (beginning probably with about 1300 A. D.)

I may remark here *en passant,* that the nouns (now post-positions) को (Naipáli), का (Hindí) ; दा (Panjábí), जा (Sindhí), ना (Gujarátí), since they exhibit the phonetic peculiarities of the Prákrit (for they stand for the Prákrit [किदो or कादा or rather for] किदओ or कदओ and the Sanskrit [कृतः or] कृतकः as explained in Essay II), and since they admit of an *oblique form* (*i. e.,* का, के, दे, जे, ना), belong to the *Prákritic* element of the Gauṛian and hence to the earliest period of its history ; to that time of its history, in fact, when it was yet merely a modification of Prákrit. The Gauṛian was not established as a separate and distinct language until after these nouns had assumed fully the nature of mere inflexional post-positions. This fact it is important to bear in mind, when we come afterwards to the explanation of the nature of the *oblique form* of nouns ; and also because, as it will be observed, it tends to confirm the theory of the origin of the genitive post-positions, given in Essay II.

Another point I may also dispose of here, before I pass on to the examination of the *oblique form* in the remaining Gauṛian languages, (Maráṭhí, Bangálí, Uṛiya). It has been stated that it is a principle of the Hindí-class Gauṛian languages that they assume as their inflexional bases the nouns of their parent languages (Prákrit and Sanskrit) in the form of the nominative singular and preserve this form throughout in all cases. Here two phonetic laws come into play which have the curious effect of making the terminations of many *Sanskritic* and *proper Gauṛian* nouns, which would otherwise have been widely different, identical ; so that looking simply at the termination, it would be impossible in some cases to judge, to which class of elements such nouns belong. These two phonetic laws are ; *first,* the well known law, that final short vowels in Gauṛian are *quiescent* or not pronounced, so that a word, though ending in reality in a short vowel, *virtually* terminates in a consonant and is treated accordingly. In most Gauṛian grammars such nouns and those ending *really* in consonants are considered alike as constituting the consonatal declension and are subject to identical rules of inflexion. For clearness of distinction in these

essays, all Gauṛian words really ending in consonants will have the VIRA'MA (विराम) appended to them while those which end only virtually in consonants (but really in short vowels) will be written without it; *e. g.*, कान *ear* is pronounced *kán* not kána, and treated exactly like बुद्धिमान् *wise* (pronounced budhimán, not budhimána). This explains also how it happened that some words which really end in इ or उ come to be written as if ending in अ. The truth is, that they are not really written with a final अ, but their final इ or उ not being pronounced, was also not written.* The transcription of the word assimilated itself to the pronunciation; *e. g.*, आग fire seems at first sight by the analogy of कान, &c., to be really ága though pronounced only ág; but this is only in appearance, in truth आग stands for आगि (Prákrit अग्गी, Sanskrit अग्निः), but as final इ was not pronounced, it was also suppressed in writing. So again the modern High Hindí कर having done stands for the older Low Hindí करि (Prákrit करिअ, Sanskrit कृत्वा), which has dropped its final इ, in accommodation to the pronunciation. In poetry, indeed, आग, कर and other nouns of the same nature are commonly treated as if terminating in अ (*i. e.*, *áqa*, *kara*, not as *ág*, *kar*,) but this is merely because according to the native grammatical system, the vowel अ is supposed to be inherent in every consonant.

The *second* law is this, that a final diphthong or long vowel of the Prákrit is reduced by the Gauṛian to its inherent simple vowel. The inherent simple vowel of आ is अ, of ए and ई it is इ, of ओ and ऊ it is उ. In Prákrit all masculine bases in अ terminate in the nominative singular in ओ or ए (cf. Pr. Prák. V. 1, XI, 10); all masculine and feminine bases in इ and उ terminate in the nominative singular in ई and ऊ (cf. Pr. Prak. V, 18); all masculine and feminine bases in आ, ई and ऊ terminate in the nominative singular in आ, ई and ऊ respectively. I have shown above that the Gauṛian adopts its nouns from the Prákrit in the form of the nominative singular of the Prákrit. Now in adopting them in this manner, the Gauṛian reduces their (Prákrit) terminations आ, ए, ई, ओ, ऊ, regularly to their inherent simple vowels अ, इ and उ.† *E. g.*, Sanskrit वार्ता = Prákrit

* Traces of this phonomenon occur already in Prákrit; comp. Pr. Prak. XI, 10., according to which sútra instead of एसे पुलिसे (for Skr. एष पुरुषः) may be said and written एसि पुलिसि as well as एस पुलिस.

† Traces of this law are not unfrequent already in Prákrit. For the reduction of ओ to उ comp. Pr. Prak. XI, ii. (*e. g.*, हसिदु for हसिदो smiling), V, 19—20, (*e. g.*, मालाउ for मालाओ garlands). For the reduction of ए to इ comp. Pr. Prak. V, 22. (*e. g.*, णइइ for णईए by a river), XI, 10, ii. (*e. g.*, पुलिसि for पुलिसे a man), VI, 6. (*e.g.*, कोइ for काए of whom). The reduction of a final आ, ई, ऊ occurs only, when they are the final of the first part of a compound; see Pr. Prak. IV. i. (*e. g.*, जउणअडं for जउणाअडं the bank of the Jumná; णइसोत्तं for णईसोत्तं the river-stream; बहुमुहं

बत्ता becomes in Gauṛian बात.* This is the *Proper Gauṛian* form beside which the Gauṛian possesses the word also in the *Sanskritic* form वार्ता. The earliest Gauṛian form of बात is बत्त, which is as nearly as possible like the Prákrit बत्ता. It occurs *e. g.*, in Chand's Príthirája Ráyasa (III. 64): अटक्कति बत्त मिटि्ह न को, *i. e.*, कोई टालनेवाली बात नहीं मिटती है ॥ Again Sanskrit स्नेहः = Prákrit सनेहो becomes in Gauṛian सनेहु, a form which occurs very commonly in Hindí poetry; similarly poetical Hindí has लहु gain for Prákrit लहो = Sanskrit लभः; or आयसु order, command for Prákrit आएसा = Sanskrit आदेशः; *e. g.*, in Tulsi Dás's Ramáyan.

जाहि मुनीस जो आयसु दीन्हा ।
सो जनु काज प्रथम तेइ कीन्हा ॥ *i. e.*

H. H. जिस का मुनीशने जो आदेश दिया ।
सो कार्य पहले ही उसने किया ॥

Ayodhyá Káṇḍ.

Beside these a great many other such nouns in उ are met with in poetical Hindí; in fact, I have no doubt, every noun, that *now* in Hindí prose ends in अ.† What is, thus, a form confined in Hindí to the old and poetic language, appears in Sindhí to be preserved in the common modern language. Dr. Trumpp says: "The old Prákrit ending in o has in Sindhí been split up into two great classes, one of which has corrupted the Prákrit (final) o into u, the other has preserved it unchanged." He adds: "It is noteworthy that many words which in Sindhí end in o, in Hindí end in â, while on the other hand the short final u in Sindhí has in Hindí been thrown away or become quiescent." (Cf. Journ. Germ. As. Society, vol. XVI, p. 131). Also in the common modern Naipálí an important instance of that form has been preserved. The nominative plural is there formed by adding हेरु to the noun. Now हेरु is nothing else but a modification of the Prákrit हेरो, Sanskrit घेरः multitude. Though this form has disappeared from

for इत्थिमुहं having a woman's face), but comp. Pr. Prak. VI, 6 (*e. g.*, कीत्र for कीत्रा of what). Note that in Prákrit all these forms are *optional*, but not in Gauṛian. I may add a few examples from the Mrichchhakatiká :—

दश सुवणाह लद्ध जूदकर पपलो । *i. e.*
Skr. दश सुवर्णस्य शतो बद्धो द्यूतकरः प्रपलायितः ॥
Again शिलु पडदि । - Sanskrit शिरः पतति ॥

* A few other instances are in Hindí खाट, bed, for Prákrit खट्टा, Sanskrit खट्वा; बीन, flute, for Prákrit वीणा, Sanskrit वीणा; लाज, shame, for Prákrit लज्जा, Sanskrit लज्जा; जीभ, tongue, for Prákrit जीहा (or जीभा), Sanskrit जिह्वा; छांह, shade, for Prákrit छाहा (see Pr. Prak. II, 18.), Sanskrit छाया.

† These archaic forms are very common in poetry, only it should be noted that as they generally occur at the end of a line, they are usually lengthened to ऊ for metre's sake.

the high Hindí, it has been not infrequently preserved in the low Hindí prose. In the Braj Bháshá the sing. of the present participle regularly ends in उ; *e. g.*, the High Hindí होता is in the Braj Bháshá होतु *being* for Prákrit होन्तो (= हवन्तो = Sanskrit भवन्). Again the Sanskrit लोकः becomes in Mágadhí Prákrit लोगे and this in the Gauṛian लोगि or लोइ, a form which, exactly like that in उ, still very frequently occurs in the old and poetical Hindí; *e. g.*, in Chand Bardái:

सुंध लोइ आचिज्ज सुमांन्यो ॥ *i. e.*

High Hindí मुग्ध लोगने आश्चर्य माना ॥

Prithrája. ráy, III. 67.

So again Sanskrit राजा = Mág. Prákrit राजे or राए becomes in the Gauṛian राइ, etc., etc. In Naipálí, *e. g.*, पसि near stands for Prákrit पास = Sanskrit पार्श्वे, लाइ or लागि for the sake of for Prákrit लग्ग = Sanskrit लग्न; पछि after for Prakrit पच्छे = Sanskrit पश्चे; अघि before for Prákrit अग्गे = Sanskrit अग्रे; थान्हि in for Prákrit थाने, Sanskrit स्थाने, etc., etc. In the modern and high Hindí all these forms ending in इ and उ (that is, when इ and उ are substitutes of an original ए and ओ), have disappeared by the action of the first law above mentioned of not pronouncing and not writing a final short vowel (इ and उ). Hence सनेहु, गेहु, etc. is in the modern Hindí सनेह, गेह, etc.; लोइ or लोगि, etc. is लोग, etc.; the Naipálí पासि is in high Hindí पास, etc., etc. In a few instances the forms in इ and उ have disappeared even where these finals stand for an original Prákrit ई and ऊ and original Sanskrit इ and उ, as in the instance of आग already quoted; for आग stands for an original आगि (= Prákrit अग्गी, Sanskrit अग्निः); so also आंख eye for आंखि*; आप you for आपु†; पित father (in poetry) for पितु, etc. In

* It is noteworthy that these nouns exhibit also another anomaly, in having suffered a change of gender, for आग and आंख are feminine in all Gauṛian languages, whereas अग्नि is masculine and अक्षि neuter both in Prákrit and Sanskrit; cf. however, Prákrit Prakása IV, 20., where अच्छि is optionally allowed to be feminine.

† The origin of these forms आप and आपु, I believe, to be this, that they are modifications not of the Prákrit अप्पा, but of a Prákrit nominative singular अप्पो of a Prákrit base अप्प formed by the analogy of Prákrit Prakása IV, 18. The form अप्पो is then reduced by the Gauṛian to आपु, and finally to आप. Similarly the Sanskrit base राजन् may in Prákrit become राज, nominative singular राजो (= Sanskrit राजः, a form preserved in Sanskrit compounds; for Panini's explanation of it by means of a Samásánta affix अ is probably a mere grammatical fiction); the form राजो is then modified in Gauṛian, as usual, to राजु and finally to राउ. Both these forms are still used in old Hindí poetry, *e. g.*,

भरत प्राण प्रिय पावहिं राजु ॥

Again: चल्यो सुमन्त राउ रथ आगो ॥

Again: राउ घोर गुण उदधि आगाधु ॥.

Ganwárí and in poetical and old Hindí, the original forms still commonly occur, *e. g.*,

जहं आवहिं मर्कट भागि ।
तहं बरत देखहिं आगि ॥ *i. e.*
H. H. जहां जाते वानर भाग के ।
तहां जलती देखते हैं आग ॥
Lanká Kánd.

Or जलति आगि घालिली अंबर ॥ *i. e.*
H. H. जलती आग को धरी वस्त्र में ॥
Prithiráj Ráyasá, I. 18.

Again दहिन आंखि नित फरकत मोरी ॥ *i. e.*
H. H. दहिनी आंख नित्य फरकती है मेरी ॥
Ayodhyá Kánd.

Again आपु अछत जुवराजपद रामहि देहिं नरेश ॥ *i. e.*
आप अछत होके युवराजपद राम को देवें नरेश ॥
Ayodhyá Kánd.

Again पितहि बिलोकि लाज अति लागी ॥ *i. e.*
H. H. पिता को देखके लज्जा अत्यन्त लगी ॥
Lanká Kánd.

But also पितु आयसु सब धर्मक टीका ॥ *i. e.*
H. H. पिता का आदेश सब धर्म की टीका है ॥
Ayodhyá Kánd.

In Maráṭhí, where आग and similar words are mutilated in the same way (see below), the original ई appears again in the oblique cases; *e. g.*, the gen. is आगी चा, just as nom. हरि, gen. हरी चा.

An interesting question here arises: why is it that the Prákrit termination ओ has not always become उ in Gaurian, but has remained unchanged (or become आ as in Hindí, Panjábí and Maráṭhí) in many instances? *e. g.*, while the Braj Bháshá forms the Pres. Partic. होतु being (= Prákrit होन्तो) the High Hindí has होता, or while the Prákrit सनेहो becomes in old Hindí सनेहु, the Prákrit घोडओ, horse, becomes in modern Hindí घोड़ा (also in Panjábí, Maráṭhí, or घोड़ो in Sindhí, Gujaráti). If my previous remarks be remembered and also that होतु, सनेहु, etc., admit of no *oblique form*, while होता, घोड़ो, etc., do admit of one (*viz.* होते, घोड़े, etc.), it will be seen that the forms होतु, सनेहु, etc., belong to the *proper Gaurian* element, while होता, घोड़ा, etc., belong to the *Prákritic* element. This, however, is not yet an answer to the question. The question still remains why did some Prákrit words ending in ओ not submit to the Gaurian principles, but retained their

In modern Hindí the form राउ (Ráo) is limited to being a certain title of nobility less than Rájá, exactly as it is also the case with the form राइ (mentioned above in the text), a perfectly parallel formation to राउ.

Prákritic complexion? The answer to this question, I believe, to be this: In Prákrit any nominal case in अ may have two forms as regards the termination: 1., a *general* form which it has also in Sanskrit; and 2., a *particular* form, peculiarly Prákrit, made by the addition of the affix क (see Pr. Prak. IV. 25); *e. g.*, bee is भमर (*general* form) or भमरक *particular* form); done is किद (*general*) or किदक (part.); true is सच (gen.) or सचक (part.), etc. The consonant क् is generally elided; hence भमरअ, किदअ, सचअ. The nominative sing. of these cases would be respectively: भमरो or भमरओ (for भमरको); किदो or किदओ (for किदको); सचो or सचओ (for सचको), etc. Now Prákrit nouns may of course pass into the Gauṛian in both or either of these forms. But according as they did so in their *general* or in their *particular* form, their fate was different. If they passed into the Gauṛian in their *particular*, peculiarly Prákrit form, they retained their *Prákritic* complexion, and these nouns constitute the *Prákritic* element of the Hindí-class Gauṛian. On the other hand, if they passed into the Gauṛian in the *general* form, they readily submitted to the action of the pure Gauṛian phonetic and grammatical principles (that is, the law to change ओ to उ and the law of not admitting an *oblique form*), and thus these nouns constitute the *proper Gauṛian* element of the Hindí-class Gauṛian. This may be illustrated again by the present participle; "being" in Prákrit is होन्तो or होन्तओ, in both forms it passed into the Gauṛian; but the form होन्तओ was contracted to होतो (for होन्तो) and remained unchanged or modified to होता (in High Hindí); while the form होन्तो was changed to होतु (for होन्तु). It is easy enough to understand that the Gauṛian termination ओ (or आ) being a *contraction* of the Prakrit termination अओ could not be reduced to उ, while the simple termination ओ could be so reduced. The same fact, *viz.* that the Gauṛian ओ is a contraction of the Prakrit अआ, may perhaps explain its curious Braj Bháshá form औ; for the diphthong औ (= अ + अ + उ) is more strictly an equivalent of अओ (*i. e.*, अ + ओ or अ + अ + उ) than the simple ओ. Farther proofs of this theory I must defer for the present. I shall have occasion again to refer to it in the course of this essay.*

* Another theory has been proposed lately by Mr. Beames (Indian Antiquary, Part V., 1872) which explains the phenomenon by the different accent of the words; oxytones retaining the Prákrit termination ओ (or आ); and barytones reducing it to उ (or अ). This theory is quite insufficient for the purpose. Mr. Beames himself admits that "it cannot be said that every oxytone substantive in Sanskrit gives rise to a noun in â or o in modern languages. *On the contrary the exemptions to the rule are as numerous as the illustrations of it.*" This admission, surely, is fatal to the theory. But though in the case of *two different* oxytone words it may be possible to show cause, why in the one instance the accent had its legitimate influence, but not in the other, this is manifestly inadmissible, when it is *one*

But to return to our enquiry, we have now seen that if a Prákrit noun having the *general* form of its base, passed into the Gauṛian,* it submitted to the laws of the Gauṛian. Hence *e. g.*, the nominative singular of the Prákrit सनेहो would become the *inflexional base* in the Gauṛian, not admitting an *oblique form*, but remaining unchanged in all cases; thus nominative सनेहो, genitive सनेहोका instrumental सनेहोने, etc. But the form सनेहो of the Gauṛian inflexional base is, then, modified to सनेहु which now is the unchangeable inflexional base of all cases; lastly, सनेहु is modified to सनेह which still remains the unchangeable inflexional base in modern Hindí. But this process of phonetic corruption has obtained in all modern Gauṛian languages almost without exception, and has reduced all unchangeable inflexional bases, which originally ended in आ, to the form of the crude (*general*) base in अ. Only in Maráṭhí a few isolated instances of the original unchangeable inflexional base in ओ remains; *e. g.*, लाहो gain (= nominative singular Prákrit लाहो = Sanskrit लाभः) has nominative लाहो, gen. लाहो चा, dat. लाहोला, etc. In the present poetical and old Hindí it occurs only as लाहु, and from the modern High Hindí it has disappeared altogether and has been substituted by the *Sanskritic* लाभ. Some other instances in Maráṭhí of the base in ओ are कापो surprise, डाहो sensation of burning, टाहो moaning, माव्हा bees' nest.

Confining our attention to the modern Hindí and the example सनेह, we find that the modern Hindí possesses also another form of this same word; *viz.*, स्नेह, which is also the unchangeable inflexional base of all cases in the singular; thus: nominative स्नेह, gen. स्नेह का, instr. स्नेह ने, etc. The difference between them is this, that सनेह has come into the Hindí from the Prákrit, and belongs to the *Proper Gauṛian* element, whereas

and the same word which now exhibits the Prákrit termination ओ (or आ), now the Gauṛian reduced termination उ (or अ). Now, in Hindí at all events with which I am more particularly acquainted, every so-called tadbhava *adjective* may be used with both forms of the termination; (though no doubt one is more common than the other); *e. g.*, true is सच as well as सचा (fem. सची); great is बड़ as well as बड़ा (fem. बड़ी); you may say यह बड़ गंवार है as well as यह बड़ा गंवार है he is a very vulgar man; you may also say यह बात सच है, but *not* यह बात सची है; again it is more idiomatic to say यह सच बात है than यह सची बात है. If it be said that it depends upon circumstances whether the accent of the *same* word should influence the termination or not, then clearly it is not the accent but that ulterior cause which determines the form of the termination. I think there can be no doubt that the real cause of the difference in the termination is the absence or presence of the *pleonastic* affix क. This accounts most easily and naturally for all the facts of the case. This is no more a mere hypothesis; though for the present I must content myself with stating the fact; the proofs, which I hope to bring forward in another place, amount nearly to demonstration.

स्नेह has come into it from the Sanskrit directly and belongs to its *Sanskritic* element, or, as I have explained in the introductory essay, स्नेह is the high Hindí substitute for the low Hindí सनेह, which is considered to be vulgar. But what it is important to observe is this, that सनेह and स्नेह are identical as regards their termination. This is a curious result of the action of phonetic laws, by which the *Proper Gaurian* elements, after a run of centuries through constantly changing forms, return to their original *Sanskritic* form. In the case of सनेह and स्नेह the appearance of the whole word is so alike, that perhaps it may have sometimes escaped observation that there is at all a double form of the word of so widely different origin. But the identity may even go further than this, so that in the case of not a few words it may be now impossible to determine, whether they are contributions of the Prákrit or the Sanskrit. The cause of the identity of termination on the part of the *Sanskritic* elements of the Gaurian is the inability of the latter to tolerate a visarga* and its want of a neuter gender. All Sanskrit nouns when incorporated into the Gaurian, pass into it in the form of the nominative singular according to the Gaurian principle. Thus father is पिता, brother is भ्राता, mother is माता ; they are the nominatives singular of the Sanskrit bases पितृ, भ्रातृ, मातृ. The *proper Gaurian* forms of these words are पिउ, भाउ or भाऊ, मातु which are still in use in the Panjábí, Maráṭhi and poetical Hindí. Now the nominative singular masculine of Sanskrit bases in अ, इ, and उ ends in a visarga. Hence the Gaurian which is unable to tolerate a final visarga, elides it, and therefore *practically* adopts Sanskrit masculine nouns in अ, इ, उ in their *crude base.* Sanskrit neuter bases in इ and उ have no inflexional termination in the nominative singular, and their adoption by the Gaurian makes, therefore, no difference in their case; but Sanskrit neuter nouns in अ end in the nominative singular in म. The Gaurian languages which do not possess a neuter gender,† when adopting such Sanskrit neuter nouns, simply

* *E. g.* Sanskrit दुःख becomes in Hindí दुख, Sanskrit अन्तःकरण becomes in Hindí अन्तकरण. Sometimes instead of the usual suppression of the visarga, it is turned into ह, but only in Low Hindí.

† This is strictly true only as regards *Sanskritic* neuter nouns. But as regards *Prákritic* neuter nouns most Gaurian languages possess them (another evidence by the way that these *Prákritic* nouns are the oldest element of the Gaurian); *e. g.*, the Maráṭhí, the Gujarátí, the old and poetical Hindí (in Chand Bardái) and present low Hindí Braj and Alwári dialects. The modern High Hindí, on the other hand, has lost the neuter gender throughout. Thus the Sanskrit neuter, part. fut. pass. करणीयम्, which has passed through the intermediate stage of the Prákrit into the Gaurian languages is in Maráṭhí करणें, Braj करनौं, Alwárí करनूं (all neuter); while in the High Hindí it is करना, which latter, by dropping the anuswára of the Braj, has become a masculine noun.

cut off the final म् and thus turn them into masculine nouns; *e. g.*, वनम् forest becomes वन, just as रामः becomes राम.

We will now pass on to the Maráṭhí. The Maráṭhí differs from the Hindí class Gauṛian languages in having preserved a much larger proportion of the *Prákritic* element. It predominates in it very largely over the *proper Gauṛian* element; so that of all the Gauṛian languages the Maráṭhí is the most purely Prákritic tongue.

In Maráṭhí by far the greater majority of nouns admits of an *oblique form* and therefore, according to the canon previously laid down, belongs to the *Prákritic* element of the language. To the *proper Gauṛian* element, not admitting an *oblique form*, only the following nouns belong.*

(1). All proper nouns and nouns of respect ending in आ (masc. and fem.), *e. g.*, रामा Rámá, gen. रामा चा, etc.; but माता mother मातेचा; सासरा father-in-law, gen. सासर्‍या चा.

(2). All nouns in ए, ए, ओ, आ; as सवे habit, gen. सवेचा; तिवै tripod, gen. तिवै चा; वायको woman, gen. वायको चा; पै mark on a die, gen. पैचा.

(3). All masculine nouns in ऊ (exc. परभू, वाटसरू, यात्रेकरू, गहू, गू, चाटू, नारू, पणतू, पू, भाऊ, माडू, रू, लाडू, विंचू, वेलू, सांकू; साडू,); *e. g.*, गेरू red chalk, gen. गेरू चा; but वाटसरू traveller, gen. वाटसरा चा.

(4). All feminine nouns in ई and ऊ (exc. स्त्री and other monosyllabic nouns in ई, and the following in ऊ, *viz.* आऊ, ऊ, जलू, जाऊ, टालू, तालू, दारू, पिसू, पेलू, बाजू, भालू, वालू, सासू, सू); *e. g.*, गाडी carriage, gen. गाडी चा; खडू chalk खडूचा; but सासू mother-in-law, gen. सासवे चा or सासे चा; स्त्री woman स्त्रियेचा.

(5). The following neuter nouns in ऊं; *viz.* अवालूं, आगरूं, उघडूं, उबालूं, खटूं, चांचूं, कांडूं, जानूं, टाटूं, पाचेरूं, फांफूं, राजालूं, हांडूं, झंपूं; *e. g.*, खटूं, gen. खटूंचा; but तट्टूं pony, gen. तट्टा चा, and तारूं ship, gen. तारवा चा.

All those nouns that constitute the *proper Gauṛian* element of Maráṭhí, are subject to those Gauṛian laws which have been already explained; namely, they have been taken over from the Prákrit in the form of the nom. sing. of that language; and having entered the Gauṛian (Maráṭhí) in that form, they retain it unchanged as their inflexional base of the direct as well as the oblique cases; *e. g.*, हत्ती elephant, in Prákrit nom. sing. हत्थी = Sanskrit हस्ती (nom. sing. of हस्तिन्) has nom. हत्ती, gen. हत्तीचा, instr. हत्ती नें dat. हत्ती ला, etc. Again लाहो gain, in Prákrit लाहो, in Sanskrit लाभः (nom. sing. of लाभ) has nom. लाहो, gen. लाहो चा.†

* See the Student's Manual of Maráṭhí Grammar, pp. 28, 29, and the Grammar of Maráṭhí by Dádoba Pandurang Esq., pp 72, 73.

† All such nouns in ओ are in reality anomalous; as according to the ordinary phonetic laws of the Gauṛian, the final Prákrit ओ should be reduced to अ (*i. e.* first to उ, then to अ). Accordingly we find that the nouns in ओ are only a very few isolated cases.

But (as in the Hindí class Gaurian languages) that form of the noun (*i. e.* the nom. sing. of the Prákrit) undergoes in its passage from the Prákrit to the Gaurian various phonetic modifications in its termination. The following are typical examples रामो, nom. sing. Prákrit of राम (= Sanskrit रामः), changes in the Gaurian its final diphthong to the more agreeable long vowel आ, thus रामा which, then, remains the unchangeable inflexional base of all cases. Compare in Hindí घोड़ा for Prákrit घोड़ो or घोड़ओ, etc. Again the Maráṭhí तिवै stands for the Prákrit nom. sing. तिवद्दी (for Sanskrit त्रिपदी); the medial द् is elided, leaving तिवई which form occurs in Maráṭhí as an alternative of तिवै; finally तिवई changes to तिवै which being now a modification altogether peculiar to the Gaurian (Maráṭhí) remains an unchangeable inflexional base. The word तिवई illustrates also another case. It is a feminine noun, which in the sense of tripod does not occur in Sanskrit, but in Bangálí it is त्रिपदी. The affix ई, is the peculiar Gaurian formative of the feminine, and feminine nouns thus formed are therefore subject to the Gaurian law (of not admitting an *oblique form*); *e. g.*, गाड़ी, carriage, gen. गाड़ी चा, dat. गाड़ी ला; तिवई, gen. तिवई चा, dat. तिवई ला, etc. As the feminine termination ई, so also the fem. and masc. termination ऊ is a peculiar Gaurian modification and hence unchangeable in inflexion; as in खडू chalk for Prákrit खडिअ (or खडिका) = Sanskrit खटिका (or perhaps rather for a Prákrit खडुका); गेरू chalk for Sanskrit गैरिका; वेळू bamboo for Sanskrit वर्त्तिका and Prakrit वत्ती, and so forth.

So far then (as regards the *proper Gaurian* element) we have seen, the Maráṭhí is at one with the Hindí-class Gaurian languages. But they differ in the treatment of their *Sanskritic* element. In the Hindí-class Gaurian languages we have seen the rule is, to treat the *Sanskritic* element according to the law of the *proper Gaurian* of keeping the inflexional base unchanged in all cases. On the contrary in Maráṭhí the rule is, to distribute all *Sanskritic* and foreign words among the various declensions according to their final vowels. And thus it happens that while some of them are treated according to the *proper Gaurian* law of not admitting an *oblique form;* others come under the law of the *Prákritic* elements and admit an *oblique form*; *e. g.*, all Maráṭhí nouns in आ (masc. and fem.) are *Prákritic;* except nouns expressing titles or names, which are *Gaurian proper*. Their analogy is exactly followed by *Sanskritic* and, we may add, *foreign* words. For while such *Sanskritic* nouns as गंगा, द्वारका, रमा, etc. (all names), and मुल्ला, खोद्दा (Arabic titles), by the analogy of दादा, बाबा, काका, etc., remain unchanged, thus gen. गंगा चा, etc., मुल्ला चा, etc.; on the other hand, all other *Sanskritic* nouns, as पिता, भ्राता, धाता, आत्मा, कर्ता, etc. (all masculine), by the analogy of the *Prákritic* words आंबा, आंगला, etc., form an *oblique form*, thus gen. पित्या चा, आत्म्या चा, just like आंब्या चा, आंगल्या चा; or the *Sanskritic* nouns भाषा, विद्या, मृत्तिका, माता, etc. (all feminine), by the analogy of the *Prákritic*

nouns पागा, माळा, etc., form an *oblique form*, gen. भाषे चा. विद्ये चा, etc., just as पागे चा, माळे चा. (In the Hindí-class Gauṛian, it must be remembered, all these nouns are unchangeable ; thus Hindí gen. पिता का, आत्मा का, भाषा का, विद्याका, etc.). Again the *Sanskritic* nouns स्वामी, दोषी, पापी, etc. (nom. sing. of स्वामिन्, दोषिन्, etc.) form the gen. sing. स्वाम्या चा, दोष्या चा, पाप्या चा, by the analogy of the *Prákritic* words न्हावी, माळी, etc., which form gen. न्हाव्या चा, माळ्या चा. Here, however, an option is possible, for the *proper Gauṛian* noun हत्ती, gen. हत्ती चा, also affords an analogy. Accordingly we find that some *Sanskritic* words have chosen to follow the analogy of हत्ती and such like Gauṛian words and, according to the Gaurian law, do not admit an *oblique form.* Such are the *Sanskritic* nouns हस्ती, करी, दंडी, दन्ती, etc., and the *foreign* nouns मौलवी, काजी, मशालची, etc. Here a great deal of arbitrariness seems to prevail as to the analogy which should be followed. As regards the nouns in इ and उ (whether masc., fem. or neuter), they appear to be all *Sanskritic ;* at least if Dadoba's grammar represents the case fairly ; for none of the instances given by him (pp. 76, 78, 79, 86, 87, 89, 94, 95,) need be a word derived from the Prákrit ; they are such as अलि, कवि, अग्नि, गुरु, मृत्यु (masc.), रुचि, व्यक्ति, धेनु, धातु (fem.) ; वारि, अस्थि, वस्तु, (neuter). It should be remembered that according to the Gauṛian law explained formerly, the final visarga of the Sanskrit nom. sing. is dropped in the Gauṛian ; hence the nouns just mentioned are modifications of the *Sanskrit* nom. sing. कविः, अलिः, अग्निः, etc., etc. Now all these *Sanskritic* nouns are treated by the law of the *Prákṛitic* elements and admit an *oblique form* in long ई or ऊ. It is not very difficult to see the analogy which they follow. There are in Maráṭhí a good number of feminine nouns in अ which belong to the Prákritic element and form an *oblique form* in long ई. The reason of this is simply this, that they are really feminine nouns in short इ, which इ, however, according to the Gauṛian law explained before, becomes quiescent and, being also suppressed in writing, is thus apparently changed to अ.* In an older state of Maráṭhí, no doubt, the original final इ was both written and spoken (similarly as it has been proved already in the case of Hindí) ; *e. g.*, fire in Maráṭhí is आग (which is the *proper Gauṛian* form of the word, beside which the *Sanskritic* form अग्नि is also used) ; in reality it is आगि, standing for the Prákṛit अग्गी which (by the Gauṛian law of shortening

* This law applies strictly only to words derived from Prákrit. In words derived from Sanskrit the final इ (or उ) is often pronounced and, as a rule, always written. This explains the fact, why all Maráṭhí nouns in इ (or उ) appear to be *Sanskritic.* Exceptionally, however, the final इ may be dropped in Sanskritic words ; *e.g.*, गत, जात, रीत occurs besides गति, जाति, रीति (cf. Dadoba's Grammar, p. 94), and the truth of the theory stated in the text is confirmed by these nouns, which all form their *oblique form* in long ई, as gen. गती चा, रीती चा.

final long vowels) becomes आगि in Gaurian Maráṭhí and finally आग. Other such feminine nouns are भिंत (for Sanskrit भित्तिः, Prákrit भित्ती); भेट (perhaps Skr. अभ्यर्टिः); चूल (for Skr. चुल्लिः, Pr. चुल्ली); केळ, (for Skr. कदली, Pr. केली); वांक (for Skr. वक्री, Pr. वक्की); पोफळ (perhaps for Skr. सुपारी); बोर (for Skr. बदरी, Pr. बोरी, cf. Pr. Prak. I, 6). They form their gen. आगी चा, भिंती चा, भेटी चा, चूली चा, केळी चा, etc., etc. And following the analogy of these nouns the *Sanskritic* nouns in इ form their *oblique form* also in ई; thus gen. अग्नी चा, व्यक्ती चा, अस्थी चा. With the *Sanskritic* nouns in उ it is a similar case, there is a small number of nouns (masc. and fem.) in long ऊ which belong to the *Prákritic* element and form their *oblique form* in long ऊ. Their *oblique form* is not identical with their *direct form*, however it may seem from the form; on the contrary the termination ऊ of the *oblique form* is analogous to the termination ई of the *oblique form* of nouns in इ; while the termination ऊ of the *direct form* is the Prákrit substitute for the Sanskrit final उः. All such Maráṭhí nouns in ऊ, namely, are derived from bases in उ, which in Sanskrit form their nom. sing. in उः which in Prákrit changes to ऊ, and is retained anomalously in the Gaurian (instead of being reduced to उ and then made quiescent). Examples of such nouns are मेरू mount Meru, etc. The gen. of मेरू (or regularly मेरु) is मेरूचा, just as आग (or आगि) forms gen. आगी चा. Now following the analogy of these nouns in ऊ (or as it ought to be according to the strict Gaurian law उ) the *Sanskritic* nouns in उ make their *oblique form* in long ऊ; thus मृत्यु has gen. मृत्यू चा; धातु has gen. धातूचा, etc.—Beside that class of feminine nouns in अ which form their *oblique form* in ई, there is another class of feminine nouns in अ which form their *oblique form* in ए; *e. g.*, जीभ tongue, gen. जीभेचा. The final अ of this class is the Sanskrit and Prakrit final आ shortened to अ according to the Gaurian law; thus जीभ stands for the Sanskrit जिह्वा, Prákrit जीहा or जीभा (cf. Pr. Prak. I. 17.) Now in consequence of the native grammatical fiction, that the vowel अ is inherent in all consonants all foreign feminine nouns which really end in a consonant, are supposed to end in अ; and hence it comes to pass that they are treated according to the analogy of the *Prákritic* feminine nouns in अ. But as the latter admit a two-fold *oblique form* either in ई or in ए, the foreign feminine nouns also form their *oblique form*, some in ई, others in ए. There seems some rule to obtain whether they should form the *oblique form* in ई or in ए. But I find a great difference among Maráṭhí grammarians as to that rule; *e. g.*, according to the *Manual* all foreign fem. nouns in त, द, न make their *oblique form* in ई, but all abstract nouns formed by the Arabic formative त, as ताजीम, तश्लीम, तारीख, तालीम, तशरीफ, etc., form their *oblique form* in ए. On the other hand in Dadobá's Grammar some of the abstract nouns with initial त are said to form their *oblique form* in ई, as तश्लीम; others as तालीम, तारीख even in आ, as if they were mascul. nouns (according to the ana-

logy of the Prákritic masc. nouns in अ, which will be explained presently). Again while the *Manual* declines, *e. g.*, जंजीर chain, मोहीम beloved in the gen. जंजीरे चा, मोहीमे चा; Dadoba makes the gen. जंजीरी चा, मोहीमी चा, etc.—There remains still to consider the case of the *Sanskritic* nouns in अ (masc. and neuter). Their final is the resultant of the dropping, according to the Gauṛian law, of the visarga and anuswára of the nom. sing. of the nouns in Sanskrit; *e. g.*, the Maráṭhí *(Sanskritic)* nouns देव, वन are modifications of the Sanskrit nom. sing. देवः, वनं. All (non-Sanskritic) Maráṭhí nouns in अ belong to the *Prákritic* element, making an *oblique form* in आ, and their analogy is followed by the *Sanskritic* nouns in अ and also by such foreign nouns as really end in a consonant, but, according to the native grammatical fiction, are supposed to end in अ; *e. g.*, as the *Prákrític* घाम heat (for Skr. घार्मः, Prákrit घम्मो); दूध milk (for Skr. दुग्धः, Pr. दुद्धो) have in the gen. घामाचा, दूधाचा; so the *Sanskritic* देव God, etc., have देवाचा and the foreign nouns कुसूर fault, etc., have gen. कुसूराचा.

Here the same interesting question arises which I have had occasion to touch upon when treating of the *proper Gauṛian* nouns in अ in the Hindí-class Gauṛian languages. The problem there was to explain the reason, why, while all Prákrit nouns (having a base in अ) end in the nom. sing. in ओ, in the Hindí-class Gauṛian languages some of them modify ओ to आ and retain their *Prakritic* character in admitting an *oblique form* (in ए or आ), and others modify आ to अ and assume the *proper Gauṛian* nature of not admitting an *oblique form.* A very similar phenomenon is exhibited by the Maráṭhí. Here we have 1., *Prákritic nouns* in अ, as दूध milk, घाम heat, पाख wing, नीज sleep, घाट bell, ओंठ lip, etc. Their final अ has no doubt arisen by the same process as the final अ of such words in Hindí (as explained above); *viz.*, the original Prákrit termination ओ changed to उ, and this उ afterwards become *quiescent* and thus, being omitted in writing, was substituted by अ. These nouns form their *oblique form* in आ, thus gen. दूधाचा, घामा चा, नीजा चा, etc. 2., *Prákritic* nouns in आ as घोडा horse, चांगला good (in fact all adjectives in आ) which form their *oblique form* in या, thus gen. घोड्या चा, चांगल्या चा, etc. The final आ in this class of nouns has arisen, as in the Hindí-class Gauṛian, by substituting the more agreeable long vowel आ for the harsher Prákrit diphthong ओ. In old Maráṭhí and in the pronouns तो, जो, etc., the original Prákrit diphthong ओ is still preserved (see Manual p. 47, rule 84, note).* The difference between these two classes is to be

* According to the Manual, p. 29, nouns in णारा and पणा do not change in the oblique cases. But this is wrong according to Dadoba's grammar, where p. 74, rule 207, the nouns in पणा are declined exactly as all other nouns in आ, *viz.*, making an *oblique form* in या; thus देवपण्या चा, and p. 266, where from the examples of

explained by the same principle by which the similar difference in the Hindí-class Gauṛian was explained; *viz.*, that it is caused by a difference in their resp. derivative bases. The nouns in अ with an *oblique form* in आ, namely, are derived from the *general* base of the word in अ, but the nouns in आ with the *oblique form* in या from the *particular* (Prákrit) base formed by the affix क (or more accurately as will be shown hereafter, इक); *e. g.*, घाम is derived from the *general* base घम्म (Sanskrit घर्म), but घोड़ा from the *particular* Prákrit base घोड़िक (= घोड़क, as केरिक = केरक) or Sanskrit घोटक. The full discussion and proof of this important principle I must defer till I come to the explanation of the nature of the *oblique form* of the inflexional base of nouns with which it is closely connected. Here I will only note that a parallel phenomenon is exhibited by the neuter nouns, some of which terminate in अ, others in ऊं or एं or ईं. Of these the former correspond to the mascul. nouns in अ; as the final अ of the latter is a modification of the Prákrit ओ and Sanskrit अः, so the final अ of the former (the neuter) is a modification of the Prákrit (neuter) termination अं and Sanskrit अम्; again both the masc. and the neuter nouns in अ make equally their *oblique form* in आ. On the other hand the neuter nouns in ऊं, एं, ईं, correspond to the mascul. nouns in आ and form like the latter their *oblique form* in या or वा, and are also, like the latter, derived from the particular base in क or rather इक (perhaps उक); *e. g.*, मोतीं pearl. = Prákrit मोत्तिकं (= मत्तकं for Sanskrit मुक्त + कम्); फांसूं branch of a river = Prákrit फंसकं (or फंसुकं, see Pr. Prak. III, 36. = Sanskrit स्पर्शकम्); अंसूं tear = Prákrit अंसुकं (cf. Pr. Prak. IV. 15. for Sanskrit अश्रु + क), etc., etc.

We now proceed to the investigation of the *inflexional* base in Bangálí and Uṛiya. These differ from the other Gauṛian languages in not possessing an *oblique form* at all. Nevertheless it is probable, that these languages are not altogether destitute of a *Prákritic* element. In Bangálí there are two post-positions for forming the gen. case; *viz.* एर and र. Of these एर must be the original one, for we can imagine एर having been, in the course of

nouns in णारा it appears, that they likewise are declined like ordinary nouns in आ. As regards nouns in णारा Dadoba's statement is confirmed by the Manual itself; or on p. 63, rule 112. it is said that all part. adj. in आ, as those ending in ता, लेला णारा, are declined like ordinary adjectives in आ, *i. e.*, making an *oblique form* in या. If nevertheless the first statement of the Manual should be correct, the anomaly is to be explained thus; the *oblique form* of these nouns is not identical with the direct form (that is to say these nouns do not belong to the *proper Gauṛian* element) but with the *oblique form* in आ of nouns in अ. Their case is a similar one to that of some nouns in ऊ which has been already explained. Their anomaly consists in this, that their *direct form* which originally ended in ओ was not modified to अ as demanded by Gauṛian law, but only to आ.

time, phonetically curtailed into र, but not र having been expanded to एर. Hence the use of र will indicate a later inflexional formation; and accordingly we find that all those *real* Bangálí (*i. e.*, not *Sanskritic*) nouns, to which the gen. sign. र is added belong to the *proper Gauṛian* element. The principles distinguishing the Gauṛian element, as explained already are, that the Gauṛian adopts the nouns of its parent language (Prákrit or Sanskrit) in that form which they have there in the nom. case; and the nouns thus adopted in their old nom. case, become anew the base, to which the inflexional signs of the Gauṛian declension are added. This base I call the *inflexional base* in opposition to the *crude base* which is the base to which the inflexional signs (or affixes) of the Sanskrit or Prákrit are added, and which is that which the noun exhibits before any inflexional sign at all is added; *e. g.*, घोटक horse is the *crude* base to which in Sanskrit or Prákrit, the inflexional signs (or affixes) are added. The affix of the nom. sing. in Sanskrit is the visarga (*i. e.*, स्), in Prákrit ओ; hence the nom. sing. of घाटक in Sanskrit is घोटकः; in Prákrit घोडको (or घोड़ओ). In this form घोडओ the noun is adopted by the Gauṛian; and this form घोड़ओ or (by the modification already explained) घोड़ा becomes in the Gauṛian, the base to which the inflexional signs (or post-positions) are added. Hence in Bangálí the nom. sing. of the inflexional base घोड़ा is घोड़ा (the nom. not being distinguished by any sign, *i. e.*, being identical with the Prákrit nominative); the gen. sing. घोड़ा + र or घोड़ार, etc. Similarly हाथी elephant (being the Prákrit nom. sing. हत्थी, Sanskrit हस्ती of the *crude* base हस्तिन्) has in the nom. sing. हाथी, gen. sing. हाथी + र or हाथीर. Again जौ lac has in the gen. sing. जौ + र or जौर.

The case of those Bangálí nouns which add the sign एर in the gen. sing. is probably a different one. It has been shown already in the IInd essay that एर is a curtailment of कर and that केर was added not only in the *pleonastic* way to the genitive of the noun, but also often *compounded* with the noun itself to signify the gen. case of the latter, and since only in composition (excepting the isolated case of the enclitic particle पुनर्) an initial single consonant is dropped, it is the most natural way to account for the origin of एर to suppose that all the nouns to which it is added, are in the form of the *crude base* with which एर (*i. e.*, केर with the initial क् elided) is *compounded*. Now all nouns (or rather their *crude* bases) with which एर is compounded, end in अ; and अ coming into Sandhi with the diphthong ए of एर was dropped; *e. g.*, tiger is वाघ (Prákrit *crude base* for the Sanskrit *crude* base व्याघ्र), and its gen. in Prákrit might be expressed by वाघकेरओ; this in Bangálí would change to वाघकेर or वाघ - एर or वाघेर, just as, *e. g.*, चर्मकार = चम्म - आर = चमार shoemaker. It will be noticed that this way of adding or compounding एर with the *crude base* of the noun is not according to the

principles of Gauṛian, which adds the case-sign only to an *inflexional base* (or rather inflected base, *viz.*, the Prákrit nom. sing.); but strictly according to the principles of Prákrit. Hence those nouns in Bangálí which add एर constitute the *Prákritic* element of Bangálí in opposition to its *Gauṛian* element which adds simply र. We may assume, that at the time of the formation of the Gauṛian principles of declension, एर, (*i. e.*, the modified form of केर) had become finally established as the gen.-sign., and its real nature was forgotten. The Gauṛian then added एर as an enclitic part of speech to its inflexional base to signify the genitive; *e. g.*, (घोड़ा or) घोड़ा (inflex. base) + एर (enclitic gen. particle); and in contact with the inflexional base which always *ended in a vowel*, the enclitic एर lost its initial ए, according to a regular tendency of such enclitic words; *e. g.*, the Sanskrit इदानीम् *now* is in Prákrit regularly only दानीम्, again पुनर् in Pr. is उण, in the Gauṛian only न for ण (as in Hindí कौन for को उण = कः पुनर्). Hence घोड़ा + एर becomes घोड़ा + र or घोड़ार.

There still remains a class of Bangálí nouns which require an explanation, as they seem to contravene the ordinary rule of the gen. formation; *viz.* the Bangálí adjectives in अ, as छोट small, बर large, भल good, etc. They add not एर as might be expected, but र; *e. g.*, छोटर, not छोटेर. If we compare these Bangálí adjectives with those nouns, that add एर, two facts become at once apparent which distinguish them one from the other, and which stand in the relation of cause and effect to each other. Those two facts are; 1, those nouns which add एर (having dropped their final अ in Sandhi with एर) end in a *consonant* and are pronounced accordingly; thus बाघ tiger is read vágh and not vágha (or vaghŏ). On the other hand those adjectives which add र, have retained and are pronounced with a final अ, thus छोट small is read chhoṭa (or chhoṭŏ), but not chhoṭ. The other fact which is the cause and explanation of the first one is this, (2), that those Bangálí nouns which add एर occur in an *identical* form in the Hindí-class Gauṛian and in Maráṭhí; while those which add र correspond to nouns in आ or ओ in the Hindí-class Gauṛian and in Maráṭhí; *e. g.*, बाघ tiger is बाघ in Hindí, Naipáli, Panjábí, Sindhí, Gujarátí and Maráṭhí; but छोट small is छोटा or छोटो; भल good is भला or भलो, बर great is बड़ा or बड़ो, etc. in those languages. Now, as has been already shown, all such nouns ending in आ or ओ and admitting an *oblique form* (in आ or ए in the Hindí-class Gauṛian and या in Maráṭhí) belong to the *Prákritic* element of the Gauṛian and are formed from the *particular* Prákrit base in क. Hence it follows that those Bangálí nouns whose final अ is pronounced, are formed from the *particular* Prákrit base in क; while those whose final अ is not pronounced are formed from the *general* base; and the final अ of the former is pronounced for the very reason because it is the remnant of the original ending अक. Take for instance the Bangálí adjective noun छोट

small, in Hindí it is छोटा and stands, therefore for an original Prákrit छोटओ or छोटओ. The equivalent for the latter in Bangálí would be छोटक (or छोटअ *i.e.* the *crude* base) and the gen. of it छोटक + एर or छोटअ + एर or (eliding the final अ in Sandhi with एर) छोटकेर or छाटएर; and now the initial ए of the enclitic एर after the final अ inherent in छोट is elided just as घोड़ा + र instead of घोड़ा + एर; hence we have छोटर chhoṭar (or chhoṭŏr). There is one exceptional gen. form in Bangálí, which proves and illustrates well the process by which छोटर and such genitives were formed. I refer to the gen. of the pronominal adjectives एत or अत or तत so many, यत as many, कत how many, which have a double form (see Beng. grammar of Samachurn Sircar p. 85), either एतर, अतर, ततर, यतर, कतर; or एतकेर, अतकेर, ततकेर, यतकेर, कतकेर. From the way Samachurn spells the latter forms (*viz.*, appending a viráma to एत्, अत्. etc., and thus making them terminate with a consonant), it would appear that he considers the whole of केर to be the sign of the gen., and the base to be only एत, अत, तत, यत, कत. If this be correct the form केर confirms my theory that the gen. - sign एर or र is but a curtailment of an original केर (the remnant of the Prákrit केरक). But I am inclined to think that the pronunciation of एतकेर, अतकेर, etc. as et-ker, at-ker, etc., instead of etaker, ataker, etc., is only a vulgar corruption, and that the words एतकेर अतकेर, etc. ought really to be divided into एतक + एर, अतक + एर, ततक + एर, यतक + एर, कतक + एर, so that the base is really एतक, अतक, etc., and the gen. sign एर. My reason is this: the corresponding forms in Hindí are इतना or इत्ता so many, जितना or जित्ता as many, कितना or कित्ता how many, with the *oblique forms* resp. इतने or इत्ते, जितने or जित्ते, कितने or कित्ते. These words, having a *direct form* in आ and an *oblique form* in ए, belong, according to the ordinary principles of Hindí, to the *Prákritic* element and are derived form the *particular* Prákrit base in क. They presuppose, therefore, a Prákrit original इत्तक or इत्तिक, जित्तक or जित्तिक, कित्तक or कित्तिक. As a matter of fact, these forms or, at least, forms almost identical (see Pr. Prak. IV, 25.) occur in Prákrit; *viz.*, either एत्तिअ, तेत्तिअ, जेत्तिअ, केत्तिअ, (for एत्तिक, तेत्तिक, जेत्तिक, केत्तिक), or एद्दह, तेद्दह, जेद्दह. केद्दह (in which द् stands for त and ह for क, see Pr. Prakrit II, 4, फलिहो for Sanskrit स्फटिकः; hence = एत्तक, तेत्तक, जेत्तक, केत्तक). Here, on the one hand, the Prákrit ए has been reduced in Hindí to इ, (thus इत्तिक or इत्तिअ for एत्तिक or एत्तिअ); on the other hand, in Bangálí, it has been reduced to अ (thus ततक for तेत्तक or तेद्दह), and besides the double consonant त्त is reduced to one त.* Thus we

* These Bangálí forms एतक, यतक, कतक, throw light on the origin of another Gaurian form; *viz.*, that of the Hindí participle present in त or ता (as चलत or चलता going). The Sanskrit affixes अत्, वत्. मत् become in Prákrit regularly अन्त, वन्त, मन्त; cf. Pr. Prak. IV, 25. VII. 10; thus Skr. धनवत् rich is Pr. धनवन्त, Skr. पठत् reading is Pr. पठन्त. Similarly Skr. कियत्, इयत्, यावत् ought to be in

have instead of the Prákrit एत्तिअ तेत्तिअ, जेत्तिअ, केत्तिअ, in Bangálí एतक, ततक, यतक, कतक.* Now in Hindí इत्ना, कित्ना, जित्ना belong to the *Prákritic* element; hence naturally their corresponding forms in Bangálí एतक, यतक, कतक, will belong to the *Prákritic* element of the Bangálí. But the *Prákritic* element of Baṅgálí is distinguished by compounding the gen. sign. एर (*i. e.*, कर) with the *crude* base (as explained above). Hence एतक, यतक, कतक being the *crude* base, their gen. is formed (एतक + एर, etc. =) एतकेर, यतकेर, कतकेर. Next the syllable क or अक is reduced to अ (or in other words the consonant क of एतकेर, etc., is elided, thus making एतएर, यतएर, कतएर) and now a final अ and initial ए meeting, the latter (being the initial of the *enclitic* एर) is elided; thus we have एतर, यतर कतर; exactly as कोटर, वरर, etc. are formed.

Lastly as regards the *Sanskritic* and foreign elements in Bangálí, they are treated on the same principle as in Maráṭhí; that is, according to their final letter, they are treated either by the laws of the *Gauṛian* or by

Prákrit कियन्त, इयन्त, यावन्त; in reality they are केन्त (– क), एन्त (– क) जेन्त (– क); that is, the double consonant न्त has changed to न्न. This is an extremely rare change in Prákrit; but its probability, as shown here, is beyond doubt. Lastly केन्नक, etc. changes in Bangálí to कतक, etc.; that is, the double न्न is reduced to the simple त. Now this explains the origin of the Hindí pres. part.; *e. g.*, चलत. The corresponding part. in Sanskrit is चलत्; this becomes in Prákrit चलन्त, this may change to चलन्न and finally to चलत. N. B. the Hindí form चलता, *oblique form* चलते presupposes a *particular* Prákrit base चलन्तक, next चलन्नक, next चलतक). Usually a compound consonant of which one of the constituents is a nasal, can suffer no phonetic modification; hence the combination न्त as a rule, remains unchanged. There are, however, a few very isolated cases of a change of न्त to न्द in the pres. part.; *e. g.*,

माषलाशिपविट्ठा विअ मशिगुडिआ ट्टीअन्दी जेव ॥ *i. e.*

Sanskrit माषराशिप्रविष्टव मषीगुडिका दृश्यमानैव ॥

Mrichchhakati, 1st act.

The Prákrit commonly uses the Parasmaipada terminations for those of the átmanepada; hence ट्टीअन्दी represents a Sanskrit दृश्यन्ती. Now as the termination अन्त, through the modified form अन्न is the original of the termination अत of the Hindí, Gujarátí, Maráṭhí pres. part., so through the modified form अन्द it is the original of the termination अद of the Naipálí, Panjábí and Sindhí pres. part. The Hindi forms इतना, जितना, कितना; correspond to the Sindhí एतर जेतर, केतर. The affixes न, र are probably modern additions and correspond to the affix ला in the Gujarátí forms केटला how many, etc.

* Compare with these their equivalents in Maráṭhí इतका, तितका, जितका, कितका, which exhibit a closer agreement even than the Hindí.

those of the *Prákritic* elements. Whenever, namely, the final of the noun is अ or a consonant (which has an अ inherent), it takes एर; in every other cases it takes र; *e. g.*, मनुष्य man has gen. मनुष्येर; बुद्धिमान् wise has gen. बुद्धिमानेर; but देवता God has gen. देवतार; मृत्तिका earth has gen. मृत्तिकार; नारी woman has gen. नारीर; पशु beast has gen. पशुर, etc.

In conclusion it may be well to recapitulate briefly the main results of the foregoing enquiry :

1. Th. Gaurian languages consist of three parts; *a.*, the *Prákritic; b.*, the *Gaurian; c.*, the *Sanskritic.* Of these, speaking generally, the *Prákritic* is the oldest, then comes the *Gaurian Proper*, then the *Sanskritic.*

2. The *Prákritic* element consists of all those nouns which have come into the *Gaurian* from the Prákrit, and which have preserved traces of the old organic inflexion of the Prákrit declension; *viz.*, the Prákrit nominative and genitive. The former (*i. e.*, the nom.) constitutes the inflexional base of the nominative or the *direct form* of the inflexional base in the Gaurian declension. The latter (*i. e.*, the gen.) constitutes the inflexional base of the remaining cases (which among themselves are distinguished by post-positions) or the *oblique* form. The distinguishing feature of the nouns of this class (*viz.*, of the *Prákritic* element) is their possession of an *oblique form*, different from the *direct form.*

Note.—Bangálí and Uriyá are exceptional in so far as the *oblique form* of their *Prákritic* nouns is not the organic genitive, but probably the *crude* base of the Prákrit declension, and the apparent identity of the *oblique form* and the *direct form* of such nouns is the accidental result of phonetic modification of the *direct form.* I admit, however, another view is possible which would allow to the Bangálí and Uriya no *Prákritic* element at all but only *proper Gaurian.*

3. The *proper Gaurian* element consists of all those nouns which have been contributed also by the Prákrit, but which have not preserved any traces of the organic declension of the Prákrit. They have been transferred from the Prákrit into the Gaurian in the form of the Prákrit nom. sing., and this form constitutes their *unchangeable* inflexional base for all cases of the Gaurian declension, (which distinguishes the various cases among themselves by the various post-positions). The distinguishing feature of the nouns of this class therefore is their non-possession of an *oblique form* different from the *direct form.*

4. The *Sanskritic* element consists of all those nouns which have come into the Gaurian language *direct* from the Sanskrit (not through the medium of Prákrit) and which like the *proper Gaurian* element admit of no *oblique form;* their unchangeable inflexional base being the form of the nom. sing. of the noun in Sanskrit.

5. The relation, accordingly, of these three different elements, one to another, is this; the *Prákritic* and the *proper Gauṛian* parts agree in both receiving their nouns from the Prákrit, but differ in the former *(Prákritic)* admitting an *oblique form*, while the latter does not. The *proper Gauṛian* and the *Sanskritic* parts agree in both not possessing an *oblique form;* but they differ in the former deriving its nouns from the Prákrit, while the latter receives them directly from the Sanskrit. The *Prákritic* and *Sanskritic* parts differ in every respect.

6. The great characteristic of the Gauṛian languages in their full development, *i. e.*, after having finally separated themselves from the Prákrit as distinct languages by themselves, is that they do not admit an *oblique form*, but use the nom. sing. of their parent languages (Sanskrit and Prákrit) as their *inflexional base* for the formation of all cases, in other words that they do not form an *organic* declension. Hence the *proper Gauṛian* and the *Sanskritic* nouns only are really Gauṛian. The *Prákritic* nouns are transitional forms partaking of the character of both the Prákrit and the Gauṛian.

7. Hence it follows that those Gauṛian languages are most really Gauṛian which contain the largest proportion of *Gauṛian* elements (*i e.*, *Gauṛian Proper* and *Sanskritic*) and least of the *Prákritic* element. In this respect the Gauṛian languages differ considerably among themselves. They may be divided into three classes: the *first* class contains only the Maráṭhí; it possesses least of the *Gauṛian* element, and therefore is the most *Prákritic* of all the Gauṛian languages, and represents most accurately the transitional stage between Prákrit and Gauṛian. The *second* class contains all the remaining Gauṛian languages, except Bangálí and Uṛiyá; *viz.*, Hindí, Naipálí, Panjábí, Sindhí, Gujarátí, (*i. e.*, the *Hindí-class Gauṛian* languages), they are almost entirely pure Gauṛian. The *third* class contains Bangálí and Uṛiyá. They also are almost entirely Gauṛian; if not perhaps altogether. The difference between the *second* and *third* class consists not so much in the relative amount of the *Prákritic* element which they contain, as in the nature of the Prákritic element as explained in No. 2, note.

8. All Gauṛian nouns which have been received from the Prákrit, are derived either from the *general* base of the word (common to both Sanskrit and Prákrit) or from a *particular* base in क (peculiar to Prákrit). The final sound of the *direct form* of the inflexional base of nouns of the latter kind is not liable to phonetic corruption (except the change of को to का or कै), while that of the former kind is.

9. The final sound of the *direct form* of the Gauṛian inflexional base (with the exceptions mentioned in No. 8) is subject to considerable phonetic corruptions. As regards those inflexional bases which are Prákrit nom. sing., *two stages* of phonetic corruption may be distinguished; *a.*, a Prákrit final

diphthong or long vowel is reduced to its constituent short vowel, *i. e.*, आ to अ, ए or ई to इ; ओ or ऊ to उ; *b.*, a final Gauṛian short vowel is made *quiescent*, so that all such inflexional bases appear in pronunciation and, generally, also in writing to end in a consonant or (since अ is considered inherent in a consonant) in अ. As regards those inflexional bases which are Sanskrit nom. sing., two stages also may be recognized; *a.*, a Sanskrit final visarga (or स्) and anuswára (or म्) is elided; and *b.*, if a final short vowel be the resultant of such elision, that vowel may or may not be made quiescent, but, as a rule, is always written.

The next essay (No. IV) will set forth the proof of the positions stated in No. 2 and No. 8, *i. e.*, that the *oblique form* of the *inflexional base* is identical with the Prákrit genitive; and that the phenomenon of the *direct form* of some inflexional bases retaining the original Prákrit termination ओ, is owing to the fact, that they are derived from particular Prákrit bases, formed by means of the affix क.

Appendix to Essay III.

On a closer examination of Naipálí I have been convinced, that the view of Naipáli taken in the preceding Essay must be somewhat modified, and that Naipáli is much more *Prákritic* than I thought at first; though I still think that its *Prakritic* element is not sufficiently strong to take it altogether out of the second class, *i. e.*, of the Hindí-class Gauṛian languages. But it is next to Gujaráti the most Prákritic of that class and therefore the nearest in that respect to Maráṭhí. In this general *respect* as well as in many particular instances which I shall have occasion at different times to notice in these essays, Naipálí shows a remarkable affinity to Maráṭhí.

My observations are based altogether on a translation of the Gospel of St. Luke into Naipálí, the only Naipáli work that I have been able to procure.* The translation, I believe, was made by Missionaries; and therefore, having been made by foreigners to whom Naipálí is yet a new language, it must be used with caution. It is full of inaccuracies of spelling, and even of grammatical mistakes here and there; *e. g.*, in ch. x. 24. ज्या तिमिहरूले देखत छौ the use of ले (= Hindí ने) is surely in-

* I have been informed by the Rev. W. Macfarlane of Darjeeling, that the only printed Naipálí Grammar is one published in 1820 in Calcutta by Lt. Ayton, of which only one copy exists in the library of the Asiatic Society. I have been unable to obtain a loan of it.

correct; for देखत छै is the present tense like Hindí देखते था.* Again very often consonants are spelled as compound which are in reality separated by a *quiescent* अ, as आन्दै instead of आनदै (= Hindí आनता; also sometimes wrongly spelled आन्ता). There is also a very inscientific principle followed in attaching the *viráma* to words really ending in consonants, as well as to words apparently terminating in a consonant, but in reality in some *quiescent* vowel. But as regards the phenomena which I am now about to mention, there is every reason to believe (from general Gauṛian analogy) that the language of the translation is correct.

As the first observation it may be mentioned that the *Sanskritic* element of the Naipálí is, in proportion to its *proper Gauṛian and Prákritic* elements considerably less than in High Hindí. In this respect Naipálí is on a level with the more cultivated *low* Hindí dialects.

In the next place the *Prákritic* element of Naipálí includes besides that class of nouns which is the common *Prákritic* element of all Hindí-class Gauṛian languages, two more classes of nouns. It has been observed that all masculine nouns terminating in आ or ओ and derived through the *Prákrit* are in all Hindí-class Gauṛian languages *Prákritic.* Thus Naipálí has

direct form		तेरो, thine,	*oblique form*		तेरा
Hindí	„	तेरा	„	„	तेरे
Panjábí	„	तेरा	„	„	तेरे
Sindhí	„	तोजो	„	„	तोजे
Gujarátí	„	तारो	„	„	तारा

In regard to Gujarátí, the neuter nouns in उं had to be added to that class. They necessarily belong to it, as they are nothing else, but the neuter nouns corresponding to those masculine nouns in ओ. Similarly in regard to Low Hindí, the neuter nouns in औं (Braj Bháshá) and ऐं (Súra Dásas Súra Ságara) had to be added. In Naipálí a like addition has to be made. It possesses probably neuter nouns in आं which form an *oblique form* in आ. I have met with such a neuter, however, in a very few instances only; and perhaps they are doubtful;† though to judge from the fact that Naipálí

* There is also apparently great confusion as to the feminine gender. The feminine is made to terminate promiscuously in ई (like केटी, girl), or in इ (like दिइ, given; though *she was* is थिई not थिइ), or in ओ (like धुलो, *dust*, for Hindí धूली or धूलि), or in आ (like दशा, fate). Now such variations are not probable in themselves, and the terminations इ, ओ, आ are contrary to all Gauṛian analogy. Or are they, perhaps, all misprints for ई?

† *E. g.*, St. Luke x. 18, मैंले सैतान् लाइ बिजुली झैं स्वर्ग बाट खसता देख्यां. The neuter देख्यां is here used, because सैतान् is construed with लाइ, and is, therefore, accusative and not nominative to the verb. It is what the Maráṭhí grammarians call the Bhavi Prayoga, where the verb agrees neither with the subject nor the object (see Manual §. 115, 3.); as त्या.नें त्याला मारिलें ॥

stands in its general character on a level with the Low Hindí dialects, the existence of a neuter gender is but to be expected.

To this class of *Prákritic* nouns (*viz.* masculine in ओ and neuter in आँ) which Naipálí has in common with the other Hindí-class Gauṛian languages, two further classes of *Prákritic* nouns are to be added. Namely, 1., a small class of nouns in उ which form their *oblique form* in आ, like the nouns in ओ; *e. g.*, *own* in Naipálí is आफनु with an *oblique form* आफना; see St. Luke xxiv. 32, तिनिहेरु मा आफनु आफनु मन तातो न थ्यो कि = Hindí क्या हम लोगों में अपना अपना मन तपता न था; but St. Luke xviii. 14. यो मानिस आफना घर गयो = Hindí यह मनुष्य अपने घर को गया. All infinitives belong to this class. They have a *direct form* in उ but an *oblique form* in आ; *e. g.*, *saying* (or to say) is भननु but *in order to say* is भनना निमित्त or भनना का लागि; see St. Luke v. 23. तेरो पाप माफ भयो भनि भननु कि उठेर हिंड भनि भननु कुन चाँहिं होलो हो = Hindí क्या तेरा पाप माफ हुआ ऐसा कहना अथवा उठ और चल ऐसा कहना कौन छोटा है; but St. Luke v. 24 तिमिहेरु जानौ भनना निमित्त = Hindí इस लिये कि तुम लोग जानो, or again St. Luke xix. 4. उ देखना का लागि रुख मा चढ्यो = Hindí वह देखने के लिये रुख में चढ़ा. 2. A class of nouns with an *oblique form* in या. The *direct form* would end, probably, in यो, but it never occurs. These nouns are never met with otherwise than in their *oblique form*; *e. g.*, जानन्याहेरु is *knowing* (*men*) = Hindí जाननेवाले; again चचचाउन्या का लागि उघारिंछ is in Hindí कटकटानेवाले के लिय खोला जायगा St. Luke ii. 10; again तिन दिन पछि उ उठन्या छ = Hindí तीन दिन के पीछेवह उठने का है or उठेगा, St. Luke ix. 22; again उस को जन्माउन्या दिन पूरो भयो = Hindí उस का जन्मावने का दिन पूरा हुआ St. Luke i. 5, 7. From these examples the following conclusions may be drawn: *a.*, these forms are *genitives*; *b.*, they are genitives of verbal nouns (or as commonly called Infinitives). These two things appear clearly from the corresponding expressions in Hindí. *c.*, according to general Naipálí analogy, the final आ indicates that they are *oblique forms.* It may here at once be noted that this proves the identity of the *oblique form* with the *organic* genitive of the Prákrit, which these forms must be, if they are genitives at all. The ordinary infinitives end in उ; and it is possible that the *direct form* corresponding to these *oblique forms* in या also would end (if instances of it did exist) in उ. In that case the infinitives in उ would have two *oblique forms* in आ and in या. Their difference would be this, that the *oblique form* in आ is used, when the regular and proper genitive with the post-position को is to be formed (*e. g.*, उनले मारना को आज्ञा गराए = Hindí उन्हों ने मारने की आज्ञा कराई, St. Luke xxiv. 20); but the form in या is used, whenever the genitive is used *adjectively* (*e. g.*, उ उठन्या छ = Hindí वह उठनेवाला था). I consider it, however, more probable that the *direct form* of these *oblique forms* in या would end in यो, that, *e. g.*, to उठन्या the *direct form* would be उठन्यो. For these forms in या correspond evidently

to the Maráṭhí *oblique forms* in या of nouns in आ (for ओ); thus Maráṭhí घोड़ा has genitive घोड्याचा. I have already observed that the Maráṭhí घोड़ा (and such like nouns) presupposes a Prákrit form घोड़िओ (or घोड़िओ for घोड़ओ). This view is confirmed by the derivation of the Naipálí उठ्नो. It stands for a Prákrit form उठणीओ (Pr. Prak. II, 17), which would represent a Sanskrit form उत्थानीयः (from उत् + स्था + अनीय). The Prákrit genitive उठणीअस्स would be contracted in Naipáli to उठ्न्या. This, however, will be fully discussed in the IVth Essay. The adjective force is conveyed by the genitive. The genitive is used in this manner in all Gaurian languages. As regards Maráṭhí, see the *Manual*, §. 212, p. 132, note 1, and §. 276, note. For Panjábí, see Ludiana grammar of Panjábí §§. 43, 120. For Gujarátí, see Edalji's Gujarátí Grammar, §. 90, *b*. For Bangálí, see Shama Churn Sircar's Grammar p. 99, (2nd edition). In Hindí such expressions are quite idiomatic as मैं ऐसा करने का नहीं, *i. e.*, it is not my habit (or intention) to act in this manner; or this, यह वस्तु कुछ काम का नहीं, *i. e.*, this thing is useless. For some other cases of this kind, see Etherington's Hindí Grammar §. 405. In Hindí, however, in many of these cases the affix वाला (वाली fem) may also be used. This word is really a noun (as I think, the Prákrit equivalent of the Sanskrit पालक) which has merely been degraded to the position of an affix, and moreover is often a *pleonastic* addition. Its case is exactly like that of the Prákrit केरओ and its Gaurian (Hindí) equivalent का, as explained in Essay II, and affords an illustration of what has been said there regarding केरओ and का. Instead of saying मैं एसा करने का नहीं it would be equally idiomatic to say मैं ऐसा करनेवाला नहीं. In the latter sentence, the word करने is in reality already a genitive (*viz.* of करना; since it is the *oblique form* of it; more an this in essay IV); and as such has already all that *adjectival* force which the word करने वाला expresses. The addition of वाला is, therefore, in reality perfectly *pleonastic*, making the word करनेवाला *doubly* adjectival. The word करनेवाला in fact means exactly the same as करने का which, as explained in Essay IInd, is also a double adjective or a double genitive (for Prákrit करणीअस्स केरओ). Hence in many Hindí phrases का and वाला are interchangeable: *e. g.*, you may say पश्चिम का देश and पश्चिमवाला देश, *i. e.*, the country of the west or the western country.

Just as the Naipálí nouns with a (conjectured) *direct form* in ओ and an *oblique form* in या correspond to the Maráṭhí nouns in आ with an *oblique form* in या, so the Naipálí nouns with a *direct form* in उ and *oblique form* in आ correspond to the Maráṭhí nouns in अ with an *oblique form* in आ. Both have reduced the Prákrit nominative termination ओ (one to उ, the other to अ) in their *direct form* and have preserved the Prákrit organic genitive in their *oblique form*. There is this difference, however, that while in Maráṭhí the Prákrit nominative termination ओ has been worn down to

its utmost limit अ (*i. e.*, from ओ to उ and from उ to अ or rather to nothing, leaving the mere consonant), in Naipálí it has been only half worn down to उ.

Besides this class of nouns in उ which are *Prákritic* for they have an *oblique form*, the Naipálí possesses also another class of nouns in उ which are *Proper Gauṛian*, because they have no *oblique form*, but retain their inflexional base in उ throughout all cases. Such nouns are, *e. g.*, आफु *self* = the Hindí आप, *e. g.*, आफु लाइ र हामिहेरु लाइ बचा, *i. e.*, Hindí आप को और हम लोगों को बचा, St. Luke, xxiii. 39; चिन्हु *sign*, *e. g.*, कति ले एक चिन्ह मांग्यो, *i. e.*, Hindí कितनों ने एक चिन्ह मांगा, St. Luke ii. 16; and especially the noun हेरु which serves as the formative of the plural; *i. e.* जसतै यनस लोगहेरु का लागि चिन्हु भयो, *i. e.*, Hindí जैसें यूनस लोगों के लिये एक चिन्ह हुआ, St. Luke, ii. 30. The final उ of these nouns is the substitute of the Prákrit nominative termination ओ, by the Gauṛian law of reduction. In old and poetical Hindi, as I have mentioned, nouns with this termination उ are often met with. In the modern High Hindí, on the other hand, it has always worn off altogether, so that the nouns end in अ or rather in a consonant. This is the case also in Naipálí in some *Proper Gauṛian* nouns, *e. g.*, घाम heat for घामु, मानिस man for मानिसु.

In conclusion I add a list of words in illustration of the above remarks.

1.—*Prákritic Nouns.*

Nom.	कुरो	word	Gen.	कुरा को,
„	धूलो	dust	„	धुला को,*
„	आँखो	eye	„	आँखा को*
„	भननु	speaking	„	भनना को †
„	उठनो	rising	„	उठन्या को †

2.—*Gauṛian Nouns.*

A.—Proper Gauṛian.

Nom.	घाम	heat	Gen.	घाम को;
„	मानिस	man	„	मानिस को;
„	गाउँ	village	„	गाउँ को;
„	आफु	self	„	आफु को;
„	छोरी	girl	„	छोरी को; ‡
„	बाती	light	„	बाती को; ‡

* These nouns are apparently feminine.

† The nouns in उ and ओ are perhaps neuters, and ought to be written with an anuswara (thus: उँ or ओं). Their Prákrit and Sanskrit originals are neuters, and they correspond to the Low Hindí neuters in अं and ओं and the Gujarátí neuters in उं.

‡ These nouns are feminine.

B.—Sanskritic.

Nom.	शब्द	word	Gen.	शब्द का;
	पिता	father	„	पिता का;
„	प्रभु	lord	„	प्रभु का;
	साक्षी	witness	„	साक्षी का;
„	स्त्री	woman	„	स्त्री का; &c.

Beef in Ancient India.—By Bábu Rájendralála Mitra.

The title of this paper will, doubtless, prove highly offensive to most of my countrymen; but the interest attached to the enquiry in connexion with the early social history of the Aryan race on this side of the Himálaya, will, I trust, plead my excuse. The idea of beef—the flesh of the earthly representative of the divine Bhagavatí—as an article of food is so shocking to the Hindu, that thousands over thousands of the more orthodox among them never repeat the counterpart of the word in their vernaculars, and many and dire have been the sanguinary conflicts which the shedding of the blood of cows has caused in this country. And yet it would seem that there was a time when not only no compunctious visitings of conscience had a place in the mind of the people in slaughtering cattle—when not only the meat of that animal was actually esteemed a valuable aliment,—when not only was it a mark of generous hospitality, as among the ancient Jews, to slaughter the "fatted calf" in honor of respected guests, but when a supply of beef was deemed an absolute necessity by pious Hindus in their journey from this to another world, and a cow was invariably killed to be burnt with the dead.* To Englishmen, who are familiar with the present temper of the people on the subject, and to a great many of the natives themselves, this remark may appear quite startling; but the authorities on which it is founded are so authentic and incontrovertible that they cannot, for a moment, be gainsaid.

To the more learned among my countrymen the fact is not unknown that the Vedas, at one time, enjoined a ceremony called *gomedha*, or the sacrifice of cattle; but they imagine it was typical, and did not involve the actual slaughter of the animal, and accordingly envelope it in mystery, so as to render it completely unintelligible to the uninitiated, or intelligible in a manner that takes them entirely away from the truth. When the subject attracted the attention of the late Professor Wilson, the attempt at mystifi-

* *Vide* my paper on the 'Funeral Ceremonies of the Ancient Hindus,' Journal, Vol. XXXIX, p. 241.

cation was so far successful that he was made to waver,* though the light of truth could not be altogether withheld from a scholar and critic like him. In a note in his translation of the *Meghaduta*, Professor Wilson said, "the sacrifice of the horse or of the cow, the *gomedha* or *as'vamedha*, appears to have been common in the earliest periods of the Hindu ritual. It has been conceived that the sacrifice was not real, but typical; and that the form of sacrificing only was performed upon the victim, after which it was set at liberty. The text of this passage, however, is unfavorable to such a notion, as the metamorphosis of the blood of the kine into a river certainly implies that blood was diffused. The expression of the original, literally rendered, is 'sprung from the blood of the daughters of Surabhi' that is, kine, Surabhi being a celebrated cow produced at the churning of the ocean, and famed for granting to her votaries whatever they desired. 'Daughter of Surabhi' is an expression of common occurrence, to denote the cow."† This argument of the learned Professor, however, had suggested itself to the people of this country long before his time, and it was met by some by the assertion that the word blood had been used only to complete the metaphor of the sacrifice. Others more amenable to the plain meaning of the old texts, but at the same time more daring, assume that the animals so sacrificed were immediately after invariably revived by the supernatural powers of the sacrificers. Such a line of argument, however satisfactory to the pious proletariat, takes the question so entirely out of the domain of reason, that it may fairly be left to itself; but even the orthodox Hindu might fairly ask, how it is then that the venerable old poet and hermit Válmíki, when preparing to receive his brother sage Vas'ishṭha, the author of one of the original law books (Smṛitis) which regulates the religious life of the people, and a prominent character even in the Vedas, slaughtered a lot of calves expressly for the entertainment of his guests? The revivification in that case must have followed the consumption of the meat of the slaughtered animals by them. The passage in which Válmíki's preparation for the reception of Vas'ishṭha is described in the *Uttara-ráma-charita* is so remarkable, that I need not offer any apology to quote it entire. The scene is laid in front of the hermitage of Válmíki, where two disciples of the sage discourse on the bustle within.

"*Bháṇḍáyana.* Behold, Saudhátaki, our humble dwelling!
Válmíki's holy hermitage assumes
The face of preparation; he expects
Unwonted guests to-day; the wild deer feed

* This was, however, done at the early part of his Sanskrit studies, when he had not come to the fountain-head, and was obliged to depend on his pandits. Subsequently he had no doubt whatever on the subject. Vide his note in the *Uttara Ráma Charita*, *Hindu Theatre*, I. 34.

† Essays II., p. 353.

Upon unusual fragments, and the air
Is filled with savoury odours.

Saudhátaki. There must be
Some wondrous cause, to make our grey beards lay
Their lectures by to-day.

Bhán. There is a cause,
And that of no mean import.

Sau. Tell me, I pray you,
What venerable ox may we expect
To visit us?

Bhán. For shame! refrain from jests:
The great Vas'ishṭha hither brings the queens
Of Das'aratha, with Arundhatí,
From Rishyas'ringa to our master's dwelling.

Sau. Vas'ishṭha is it?
Bhán. The same.

Sau. I crave his pardon. I had thought, at least,
It was a wolf or tiger we should look for.

Bhán. How so?

Sau. Why else was there provided
The fatted calf for his regale?

Bhán. Why, know you not,
The Vedas, which enshrine our holy law,
Direct the householder shall offer those
Who in the law are skilled, the honied meal
And with it flesh of ox, or calf, or goat,
And the like treatment shall the householder
Receive from Bráhmaṇs learned in the Vedas.*

Vas'ishṭha, in his turn likewise, slaughtered the "fatted calf" when entertaining Vis'vámitra, Janaka, S'atánanda, Jámadagnya and other sages and friends, and in the *Maháví́ra Charita*, when pacifying Jámadagnya, tempted him by saying: "The heifer is ready for sacrifice, and the food is cooked in ghee. Thou art a learned man, come to the house of the learned, favour us (by joining in the entertainment)."†

These are, doubtless, examples quoted from avowed fictions, but it is not to be supposed for a moment that their authors would have alluded to such

* *Hindu Theatre* I, 339. This rendering is a little too free, but the main facts remain unaltered. For a literal translation of the passage, see Mr. Tawney's version of the work, Act IV.

† समालभ्यते वत्सतरी सर्पिष्मांश्च पच्यते ।
श्रोत्रियः श्रोत्रियगृहानागतोऽसि जुषस्व नः ॥ अ० २ ।

a subject, and offended the feelings of their readers, had they not ample authority to be satisfied that their readers would go with them.

Colebrooke noticed the subject in his essays on "the Religious Ceremonies of the Hindus," in which he says, "it seems to have been anciently the custom to slay a cow on this occasion, (the reception of a guest) and a guest was therefore called a *goghna* or 'cow-killer.'* When noticing the mantra for the consecration of the cow at the marriage ceremony, he observes: "The commentator whose gloss has been followed in this version of the text, introduces it by the remark, that a guest, entitled to honorable reception, is a spiritual preceptor, a priest, an ascetic, a prince, a bridegroom, a friend, or, in short, any one to welcome whose arrival a cow must be tied for the purpose of slaying her; whence a guest is denominated *goghna*, or cow-killer."†

Manu authorises the consumption of animal food at all seasons with the slight restraint of first offering a bit of it to the gods, or manes, or guests. He says, "having bought flesh meat, or obtained it by aid of another, he who eats it after worshiping the gods or manes commits no sin." v. 32. But he does not expressly name beaf as an article of food. In his list of animals fit for human food he, however, observes; "the hedge-hog and porcupine, the lizard *godhá* (*Guana*) the *gaṇḍaka* (rhinoceros) the tortoise, and the *rabbit* or hare, wise legislators declare lawful food among five-toed animals, and all quadrupeds, camels excepted, which have but one row of teeth."‡ And this would include cows which were well known to him as animals having one row of teeth. Had he wished to exclude them, he would have for certain thought of them, and linked them with camels. It is, however, not necessary to infer what he intended by such a line of argument, as he is quite explicit in his directions about the use of beef on the occasion of a Brahmachárí's return home. He says: "Being justly applauded for this strict performance of his duty, and having received from his *natural or spiritual* father, the sacred gift of the Vedas, let him sit on an elegant bed, decked with a garland of flowers, and let his father honour him, before his nuptials, with the present of a cow, according to the *Madhuparka* rite."§ In a subsequent passage|| he recommends the *Madhuparka* or the "honied meal" with beef for the reception of kings and other great dignitaries.

Asoka, who in his first edict, says "formerly in the great refectory and temple of the heaven-beloved king Piyadasi, daily were many hundred thousand animals sacrificed for the sake of meat food,"¶ does not specify the kind

* Asiatic Researches VII, 288.

† Ibid VII, 289.

‡ Manu V., 18.

§ Ibid III, 3.

|| Ibid III, 119-120.

¶ Journal, Vol. VII, p. 249.

of animals which were slaughtered, but, bearing in mind that when the animals were sacrificed he was a Hindu, and followed the ordinances of the S'ástra, it is to be presumed that he did not confine himself to the meat of kids and sheep.

The Mahábhárata and the Rámáyaṇa allude to the *gomedha* or slaughter of cattle for sacrifice; but they do not afford any details, nor is it clearly mentioned that bovine meat was used as food.

The Sútras, both Kalpa and Grihya, and the Vedas themselves, however, display no such reserve or reticence. They distinctly affirm that bovine meat was used as food, and in detail point out the different occasions when cattle should be slaughtered and eaten.

In the Bráhmaṇa of the Black Yajur Veda, that grand store-house of Vedic rituals, which afford the fullest insight into the religious life of ancient India, mention is made of scores of different ceremonies, which required the meat of cattle for their performance, and considerable stress is laid on the kind and character of the cattle which should be slaughtered for the supply of meat for the gratification of particular divinities. Thus, among the *Kámya Ishṭis*, or minor sacrifices with special prayers (B. III, c. VIII), we have to sacrifice a dwarf ox to Vishṇu; a drooping-horned bull with a blaze on the forehead to Indra as the author of sacrifices, or as the destroyer of Vitra; a thick-legged cow (*prishnisaktha*) to the same as the regent of wind; a white-blazed drooping-horned bull to the same, as the destroyer of enemies, or as the wielder of the thunderbolt; a barren cow to Vishṇu and Varuṇa; a cow that has lately miscarried to Aushadhayah; a bull that has been already sanctified at a marriage or other ceremony to Indra and Agni; a polled ox to Brahmaṇaspati; a black cow to Pushan; a cow that has brought forth only once to Váyu; a brown ox to Indra, the invigorator of our faculties; a speckled or piebald ox to Savitá; a cow having two colors to Mitra and Varuṇa; a red cow to Rudra; a white barren cow to Súrya; a white ox to Mitra; a cow that has miscarried from taking the bull unseasonably to Váyu; a cow fit to conceive to Bhaga, &c., &c. In a rule in connexion with the As'vamedha, the same authority lays down that sacrificial animals should differ in caste, colour, age, &c., according to the gods for whom they are designed.*

In the larger ceremonies, such as the Rájasuya, the Vájapeya, and the As'vamedha, the slaughter of cattle was an invariable accompaniment. Of the first two, the *Gosava* formed an integral part, and it ensured to the performer independent dominion in this world, and perfect freedom in the next to saunter about as he liked, even as the cow roams untrammelled in the forest.†

* Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, III, p. 658.

† यथा गैाः अरण्ये स्वच्छन्दचारी, एवमयं मर्त्यलोकेऽपि स्वतन्त्रो भवति । Taittiríya A'raṇyaka.

In its account of the As'vamedha, the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa recommends 180 domestic animals to be sacrificed, including horses, bulls, cows, goats, deer, Nílagáos,* &c. A number of wild animals were, likewise, on such occasions, brought to the sacrificial posts, but they were invariably let loose after consecration. The authority, however, does not distinctly say how many heads of cattle were required for the purpose; the number perhaps varied according to the exigencies of the guests among whom crowned heads with their unwieldy retainers formed so prominent a part, and whose requirements were regulated by a royal standard. But even the strictly ceremonial offering was not, evidently, completed with a solitary cow or two. Out of the "ten times eighteen" heads required, a great many must have been bulls, cows and heifers of diverse colors and ages.

The Bráhmaṇa notices another ceremony in which a large number of cattle were immolated for the gratification of the Maruts and the enjoyment of their worshipers. This was called the *Pañchas'áradíya sava*, or the "quinquennium of autumnal sacrifices." It evidently held the same position in ancient India which the Durgápújá does in the liturgy of the modern Hindus. It used to be celebrated, as its name implies, for five years successively, the period of the ceremony being limited to five days on each occasion, beginning with the new moon which would be in conjunction with the Vis'ákhá constellation. This happened in September or October. The most important elements of the ceremony were seventeen five-year-old humpless dwarf bulls, and as many dwarf heifers under three years. The former were duly consecrated, and then liberated, and the latter, after proper invocations and ceremonial observances, immolated; three on each day, the remaining two being added to the sacrifice on the last day, to celebrate the conclusion of the ceremony for the year. The Táṇḍya Bráhmaṇa of the Sáma Veda notices this ceremony, but it recommends cattle of a different color for each successive year. According to it the 7th or 8th of the waxing moon in Ás'vina for the first year, and the 6th of Kártika for the following years, as the most appropriate for it.† The origin of the *Yajña*, according to a Vedic legend, is due to Prajápati. Once on a time he wished to be rich in wealth and dependents; "he perceived the Pañchas'áradíya; he seized it, and performed a sacrifice with it, and thereby became great in wealth and dependents." "Whoever wishes to be great," adds the Veda, "let him worship through the Pañchas'áradíya. Thereby, verily, he will be great."‡

* तस्मादष्टादशिनो रोहितो धूम्ररोहित इत्यादिभिरनुवाकैरुक्ताः प्रत्यनुवाकमष्टादश-संख्या मिलित्वाऽशीत्यधिकशतसंख्याकाः पशव आलम्भ्याः । Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa II, 651.

† षष्ठ्यां शरदि कार्त्तिके मासि यजेत । सप्तम्यामष्टम्यां वाश्वयुजीपक्षे तु वत्सतरीरेवा-लभेरन् षष्ठ्यो विकर्जेयुः । १४१ ।

‡ Tait. Bráhmaṇa, II, 2.

Elsewhere it is said that this ceremony ensures thoroughly independent dominion, and that a sage of the name of Kándama attained it through this means.*

In the A's'valáyana Sútra mention is made of several secrifices of which the slaughter of cattle formed a part. One of them in the Grihya Sútra is worthy of special notice. It is called *Súla gava* or "spitted cow," *i. e.*, Roast Beef. It was performed either in the autumn (*sarat*), or the spring season; when the moon was in the constellation A'rdrá.† The animal appropriate for it was a cow of other than fawn color, spotted with white,‡ and the choicest of the fold.§ Black spots were, however, not deemed objectionable,|| and a uniform black or blue color with a dash of red in it, *i. e.* of a purplish tinge was reckoned unexceptionable.¶ As soon as such an animal was selected, it was bathed with water in which paddy and barley had been steeped, and let loose,** as long as it did not attain all its permanent teeth, being all the while kept dedicated to Rudra, by a Vedic mantra which says, "May you thrive in the name Rudra the great god, &c."††

The proper place for the sacrifice was an unfrequented spot, outside, and to the east or the north, of a village or town, whence the village was not visible, nor was it visible from the village. The time was after midnight, but some authorities preferred the dawn.‡‡

All the necessary arrangements being complete, the priest, a Bráhman versed in the details of the sacrifice and experienced by former performance of it,§§ should begin the ceremony by making certain offerings to the fire with appropriate mantras, and then plant a sacrificial post of the usual size, but of a green palás'a branch, uncarved and unadorned, the practice in other.

* स्वाराज्यं वा एष यज्ञः । एतेन वा एकयावा काण्डमः स्वाराज्यमगच्छत् । स्वाराज्यं गच्छति। Taittiríya Bráhmana II, 781.

† शरदि वसन्ते वार्द्रया । ४, ९, २ ।

‡ अकुष्ठिपृषत् । ४, ९, ४ ।

§ श्रेष्ठं स्वस्य यूथस्य । ४, ९, २ ।

|| कल्माषमित्येके । ४, ५ ।

¶ कामं कृष्णमालोहवाश्चेत् । ४, ९, ९ ॥

** व्रीहियवमतीभिरद्भिरभिषिच्य । ४ । ९, ७ ।

†† रुद्राय महादेवाय जुष्टो वर्धस्वेति । ४ ९, ९ ।

I am not sure whether the Rudra in this passage should be the noun, and Mahádeva "great god," adjective, or the latter the noun, and Rudra "fierce" the epithet. In the present day animal sacrifices are rarely offered to Mahádeva. To Sarasvatí, likewise no meat offering is now made, though the Vedas enjoin it repeatedly.

‡‡ अर्द्धरात्रात् उदित इत्येके । ४, ९, १२ ।

§§ For obvious reasons this condition could not have been invariably carried out.

ceremonies being to carve and decorate the post (Yúpa) very elaborately. Two pieces of string are now to be provided, one made of kús'a grass, and the other of a kind of creeping palás'a, *vratati*. One of these is tied round the post, and the other to the right horn of the victim, which is then attached to the post facing the west; each of these operations being performed while repeating a mantra. The animal being then immolated in the usual way, an offering is made to the fire with the liver held in a vessel made of palás'a wood or leaves. The mantra for the purpose is formed of the twelve names of S'iva thus—"To Hara, Mṛiḍha, S'árva, S'iva, Bhava, Mahádeva, Ugra, Bhíma, Pas'upati, Rudra, S'añkara, and Ís'ána, may this be welcome."* It is, however, optional with the priest to repeat the whole of this mantra, or only a part of it including the last six names, or simply to say "to Rudra, may this be welcome!" Offerings of cooked rice and other articles being now made, four bundles of kús'a grass are spread on the four sides of the altar, and a little cooked rice and some beef are offered to Rudra as the regent of the four quarters. This is followed by four mantras addressed to Rudra from the four quarters. The husks (*tusha*) and broken grain (*kuṇḍa*) of the rice used in cooking the rice offering, together with the tail, hide, tendons and hoofs of the victim are then to be thrown into the fire, and the effused blood, which at the time of immolation was held in a vessel, should be thrown on bundles of kús'a grass. At a time when the people knew not how to utilize bovine hair and hoofs, their burning was a matter of course, but the destruction of so useful an article as hide was not in keeping with the views of the Benthamites of the day; accordingly Sámbatya, a sage, recommended that it should be made subservient to human use, by being manufactured into shoes and the like.† The priest is then to stand up, facing the north, and, covering his face with a cloth, repeat a mantra offering the blood which had been spilled on the ground at the time of sacrifice to serpents to whom it belongs. The final offerings (*svishṭakrit*) are now made, and the spit being removed from the chest of the victim, the ceremony is concluded by an address to Rudra in praise of his greatness. The remains of the ceremonial offerings, says the Sútrakára, should not be admitted into the village, nor children be permitted to approach the sacrifice. But the sacrificers should, says the text, "eat of the oblation in the usual way, after the benediction (*svastayana*)."‡ Some forbid this consumption of the beef, others make it optional.§

* हराय मृडाय शर्वाय शिवाय भवाय महादेवायोग्राय भीमाय पशुपतये रुद्राय शङ्करायेशानाय स्वाहा । ४. ९, १० ।

† शेषं चर्म्मणा कुर्वीतेति शांवत्यः । शांवत्यस्याचार्य्यैः चर्म्मणा शेषमुपानहादि कुर्वीतेति मन्यते । ४, ९, २४ ।

‡ नियोगात्तु प्राश्नीयात् स्वस्त्ययन इति । ४, ९, २५ ।

§ तस्य पशोः कुलशेषं न प्राश्नीयात् । अन्यत्र इच्छातः प्राश्नीयात् वा । ४, ९, २२ ।

The ceremony ensures to the performer long life, wealth, high position, great religious merit, and numerous herds and children; and every householder is required to perform it at least once in course of his life; it being reckoned among those which must be performed. A modified form of this ceremony is recommended to be performed in a paddock, where cattle are piquetted at night, should a murrian break out in the fold.

If is to be regretted, that the account of the ceremony given in the Gṛihya Sútra, though full in other respects, is entirely silent as to how the meat of the animal is to be cooked. The use of the spit or skewer and its presence in the chest of the victim whence it is to be withdrawn at the conclusion of the ceremony, leaves little doubt, however, as to the manner in which the meat was dressed.*

The next ceremony I have to notice is named *Gavámanayana*, or the sacrifice of the cow, otherwise called *Ekáshṭaká*. It was held for four days on the eighth of the wane in the month of Mágha, or for four days, either immediately before, or immediately after, the full moon of Phalguna or Chaitra. Its details are in many respects similar to that of the ordinary *Pas'ubandha*, of which some account will be given below. It seems to have formed a part of the *Maháplava*, *Dvádas'aha* and other ceremonies, and not to have constituted a distinct ceremony by itself.

Several other ceremonies also required a supply of beef for their consummation. In connexion with the Atirátra ceremony Kátyáyana recommends the sacrifice of a barren cow (a spotted one being preferred)† to the Maruts, and seventeen, black, polled, entire oxen to Prajápati, permission being granted to dispense with one or two of the characteristics if all the three cannot be secured.‡ I have not yet been able to obtain a Prayoga for the performance of any of these ceremonies, and am not, therefore, in a position to supply all the details which were observed in performing them. I have, however, got three short Prayogas for the performance of the *Nirúḍa pas'nbandha*, from one of which (MS. No. 1552, Sanskrit College of Calcutta) I have compiled the following abstract of the ceremony.

This ceremony should be performed during the six months of the northern declension of the sun, when the moon is waxing in one of the Deva-

* ततः स्विष्टकृदादि हृदयशूलोद्वासनवर्जितं शेषमेषं समापयेत्। आश्वलायनगृ०-सू० वृत्तिः ४, ९, २९।

† अतिरात्रपशूनुपाकृत्य वशां पृश्निं मरुद्भ्य उक्थेभ्यः॥ का० श्रौ० सू० १४, २, ११।
पूर्वं चतुरोतिरात्रपशूनाग्नेयादीनुपाकृत्य वशां वन्ध्यां पृश्निं चित्रवर्णामुपाकरोति।

‡ तदभावेऽपृश्निम्॥ का० १४, २, १२॥
प्राजापत्यांश्च सप्तदश श्यामतूपरान् वशान्॥ का० १४, २, १३॥
श्यामाश्च ते तूपराश्च श्यामतूपराः तान् तूपरान् शृङ्गहीनान् वशान्मुष्करान् साण्डान् प्रजनयितॄन्।

ńakshatras, or on the day when the moon is in the constellation Revatí, or on the day of the new moon. On the day preceding the ceremony, the performer should celebrate the s'ráditha called *Nándímukha*, and at night observe the *Udakas'ánti* and the *pratisara-bandha*. The first consists in sprinkling holy water with appropriate mantras on the householder, and the latter in tying a thread on the right wrist in a prescribed form to serve as an emblem of engagement, to be kept on until the completion of the ceremony for which it is tied. In Bengal this thread is now tied only on the occasion of a marriage or the investiture of the sacrificial thread; but in the North-West it is used for several other ceremonies.

On the day of the ceremony, the first duty is to attend to the five obligatory duties of bathing, offering of water to the manes, reading of the Vedas, offering of oblations to the household fire, giving of alms to beggars, and cooking of rice for the Vaisyadeváh.* The animal to be sacrificed is then to be thought of, while repeating the mantra beginning with the word *Príyatám*, &c. Proceeding then to the Gárhapatya fire the institutor and his wife should sit beside it on kús'a grass, holding at the same time a bundle of that article in their hands, and then thrice inaudibly and thrice loudly repeat a mantra, and, having duly ordained the priests, solemnly resolve to perform the ceremony. The Adhvaryu should now come forward, produce in due form the sacrificial fire by briskly rubbing two pieces of wood against each other, sanctify it by proper mantras, light the Áhavínya fire altar, and thereon offer oblations of clarified butter. If the fire used be an ordinary one, and not produced by friction, a different form of sanctification, is to be adopted to that recommended in the first instance. The oblations, however, are the same, and they are five-fold, the last two being in favor of the sacrificial post and the axe with which it is to be cut.

Now proceeding by the eastern gate, the institutor should proceed to the tree from which the post is to be cut out. There, standing before the tree with his face to the west, he should address a mantra to the tree, and then anoint its trunk with a little sacrificial butter. The post being subsequently cut, a piece of gold is to be put on the stump, a little water is to be sprinkled thereon, and four offerings of butter made to it.

The post should be five *aratnis* and four fingers long, each *aratni* being equal to about 16 inches, that is, of the length of the forearm from the inner condyle of the humerous to the tip of the little finger. From nine inches to a foot of the lower end of the post should remain unshorne for the purpose of being buried in the earth; but above that the shaft should be pared and made either octagonal, or square. The top, to the extent of four

* पाठो होमश्चातिथीनां सपर्य्या तर्पणं बलिः ।
एते पञ्च महायज्ञाः ब्रह्मयज्ञादिनामकाः ॥

fingers, should be cut into the form of a tenon, whereon is to be fixed a round wooden band or ferule, for regulating the proportion of which as also for the various operations of cutting, chiselling, scraping, appropriate mantras are provided. The shavings shoud be collected, partly for the cooking of frumenty, and partly for fixing the post in the earth.

The place where the post should be fixed has next to be determined. For this purpose, a peg is to be fixed in front of the Áhavaníya fire at the distance of two feet from its northern edge. Proceeding northwards twelve feet thereform, a second peg is to be fixed, and then taking a piece of string 18 feet long and having a loop at each end, it is to be fixed to the fore peg, and then, drawing it tight at the thirteenth feet, a third peg is to be fixed, a hole being dug between it and the peg at the twelveth feet, and another at the fourteenth feet. The string being now drawn towards the south, pegs are to be fixed as above. These opposite points are called the *s'roṇi*, or the hips of the altar. The string is next turned to the east and west successively, and pegs fixed at the distance of fourteen feet on each side from the centre. These constitute the two shoulders of the altar (*skandha*). To the west of the twelveth feet peg, eight inches of space should be kept for the post, and beyond it a peg should be fixed to mark the boundary of the spot. Beyond it, in a straight line at the distance of a yoke-pin, another peg is to be fixed, and beyond it a square altar of the length and height of a yoke-pin should be made similar to the Áhavaníya altar. This is called the *Uttara-vedi.* Upon this there should be another, a span square and four fingers or a span high, having a depression in the centre like a foot-mark. This is the northern naval, *Uttaranábhi.* Measuring two or three feet straight to the west of the altar pin, and then turning to the north two or three feet, a hole is to be dug of the size of a yoke-pin. This is called *Chátvála.* Measuring again four feet straight to the west of the altar, and then turning to the north one foot, a peg is to be fixed marking the place of the *Utkara* or refuge field.

The Yajamána now sheds his hair, rubs butter on his body, ornaments his eyes with collyrium, and then eats something, leaving the next operations of the ceremony to be performed by the priests.

The first duty of the Adhvaryu priest is now to cut two plaksha branches *(Ficus infectoria)*, and to arrange all the different articles required for the sacrifice, including among other things a peg of Gambhári wood *(Gmelina arborea)* of the length of the Yajamáná's face for driving it into the victim's chest. *Kas'maryamayam hridaya-s'úlam yajamána-mukha-sammitam.* Now follows a series of offerings to the different sacred fires, and the repetition of a number of mantras by the different priests, the Yajamána and his wife, which, however important in a ceremonical point of view, are neither likely to interest the public in the present day, nor to contribute to throw any

light on the subject of this paper. I shall pass on, therefore, to the details connected with the treatment of the sacrificial animal.

On the conclusion of the different offerings above referred to, the victim should be brought forward, rubbed over with a paste of turmeric, emblic myrobolan and oil, well washed, and then led between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara*, to a spot between the A'havaníya fire and the sacrificial post, and there made to stand before the latter, facing the west. The animal should be of the colour appropriate for Indra and Agni, for the whole ceremony is addressed to them. But should one of that colour be not available, any sound ox may be employed, provided it be not defective by reason of having only one horn, or bored ears, or broken teeth, or docked tail, or being dwarf, deaf, mangy, or undivided-hoofed.

After the bathing the Adhvaryu should offer certain expiatory oblations with the *nityájya*, *sthályájya*, and *vasáhoma havani*, in course of which he should invoke Agni, Indra, Váyu and Prajápati. Then taking a bit of kus'a grass he should place the same with the aid of the Yajamána, on the head of the victim between the horns, while repeating the first verse of the Yajur Veda, *I's'etvá* &c. This is called *Upákaraṇa* or emblematic sacrifice. It is to be followed by the repetition of certain mantras declaratory of the resolution to sacrifice the animal.

Other mantras now follow, accompanied with offerings to the different fires, and repeated manupulations of the sacrificial vessels. These done, the animal is tied by the right horn, the rope passing two or three times round the eye of that side, so as to leave the left horn free. A little water is then sprinkled on the victim, which is allowed to have a good drink of water from a vessel brought near it for the purpose. An offering of butter to the fire with the *s'ruk* spoon is next made, and with the remainder of the sanctified butter in the spoon, spots are marked on the forehead, the hump, and the two hind quarters. Another series of mantras and offerings having been gone through by the Adhvaryu, an axe is placed in the hands of the immolator, a spike stuck into the string with which the victim is tied, and the victim is anointed with some butter. These operations accomplished, the Agnidhra takes up a flaming brand from the *A'havaníya* altar, and proceeding between the *Chátvála* and the *Utkara* to the front of the *Sámitra* fire, thrice circumambulates the victim by the right side with the brand in his hand, and then, placing the brand near the *A'havaníya* altar, repeats the circumambulation, while the Adhvaryu offers an oblation after every turn, and then continues his offerings to Prajapati Agni, Váyu, and Vis'vedeváh. The Pratiprasthátá now comes forward, and taking some burning charcoal from the *Gárhapatya* altar, removes it to the *Sámitra* altar. The victim is then led northward between the sacrificial post and the northern altar by the Agnidhra with a flaming brand in his hand, and the Adhvaryu and the Yajamána touch it with the vessel intended

for holding the liver (*vapásrapami*). The former next sanctifies the animal by a mantra, and the Agnidhra places before the immolator the burning brand which is cast aside by the Adhvaryu, who orders the immolation with an appropriate mantra ending with the word *sañjñapaya* "immolate." The immolator now casts the animal on spread kusa grass so as to have its head towards the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, and completes the slaughter, saying at the end "it is immolated" (sañjñapta). The institutor of the sacrifice and the priests should sit during the operation with their faces averted, so as not to behold the sanguinary work, and the Adhvaryu should go on making expiatory offerings to obviate the evils likely to arise from the victims lowing, or shivering, or attempting to run away, or dying by natural causes during the ceremony. A number of mantras, mostly from the Sañhitás of the Rig and the Yajur Vedas are given for the various operations and offerings mentioned, as also for an interminable and unsufferably tedious series of offerings which are to follow the immolation; but it would be foreign to the subject of this paper, to describe them here. I must, therefore, refer the curious to the MS. from which these details have been taken.

That the animal slaughtered was intended for food, is evident from the directions given in the A's'valayana Sútra to eat of the remains of the offering; but to remove all doubt on the subject I shall quote here a passage from the Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa, in which the mode of cutting up the victim after immolation is described in detail; it is scarcely to be supposed that the animal, would be so divided if there was no necessity for distribution. The passage runs thus: "celestial and human executioners, (Samitára) commence your work; carry the victim for the purpose of cutting it up. Anxious to divide the victim for the masters of the ceremony, collect the *ulmuka* fire for the animal brought here (to the shambles). Spread the kús'a grass; obtain the permission of the mother, of the father, of the uterine brother, of the friendly members of the herd of the victim. Place it so that its feet may point towards the north; let the eyes reach the sun; let its vital airs attain the regent of the wind; let the ears attain the regents of the quarters; let its life reach the ether above; let its body abide on the earth. Separate its hide so that it may remain entire (without rents). Before cutting open the naval separate the fat. Close its breath that it may remain within; (*i. e.* by tying up the mouth). Cut open its breast so as to make it appear like an eagle (with spread wings). Separate the forearms; divide the arms into spokes; cut out the shoulders (clods) in the form of tortoises; remove the hips (rumps) so as not to injure them; divide the thighs (rounds) with the bone entire in the shape of a door, or of the leaf of the oleander; separate successively in order the 26 ribs; divide the different members so that none be less than what it should be. Dig a trench for burying the

excrements.* Throw away the blood to the Rákshasas. Extract entire (and do not puncture in the middle) that part of the entrails which is like an owl in shape (the stomach, *vanishṭu*). Your offspring and their children will live in peace and never weep (*i. e.* these operations being done according to the ordinances of the s'ástra, no injury will befall your family). O slayer of cattle, O Adhrigu, accomplish your task; accomplish it according to rules; O Adhrigu, accomplish it."*

The Taittiríya Bráhmaṇa is silent as to what should be done with these different parts, but the Gopatha Bráhmaṇa of the Atharva Veda supplies the omission. It gives in detail the names of the different individuals who are to receive shares of the meat for the parts they take in the ceremony. The total number of shares into which the carcass is to be divided is thirty-six, and the following persons are to receive one or more shares each, *viz.* :—

"The Prástátá is to receive the two jaws along with the tongue; the Pratihartá, the neck and the hump; the Udgátá, the eagle-like wings or briskets; the Adhvaryu, the right side chine with the shoulder; the Upagátá, the left chine; the Pratiprasthátá, the left shoulder; the Brahmá and the wife of the Rathyá, the right rump; the Bráhmaṇáchchhansi, the right hip lower down the round; the Potá, the thigh (leg ?'); the Hotá, the left rump; the Maitrávaruṇa, the left round; the Achchhávaka, the left leg; the Neshṭá, the right arm (clod); the Sadasya, the left clod; the master of the house the sirloin and some part of the abdomen (flank ? *sada* and *anuka*); his wife, the loin or pelvic region, which she is to bestow on a Bráhman; the Agnidhra, the stomach (*vanishṭu*), the heart, the kidneys, and the right fore leg (*váhu*); the Átreya, the left leg; the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two right feet; the wife of the householder who ordains the sacrifice, the two left feet; and both of them in common, the upper lip; the Grávastut, three bones of the neck, (vertebra) and the *manirjá*, whatever that be; the man who leads the cow, three other vertebræ and a half of the perineum; the Chamasádhvaryu, the bladder; the Subráhmaṇya, the head; the man

* "दैव्याः शमितार उत मनुष्या आरभध्वं । उपनयत मेध्या दुरः । आशासाना मेधपतिभ्यां मेधं । प्रास्मा अग्निं भरत । स्तृणीत बर्हिः । अन्वेनं माता मन्यतां । अनु पिता । अनु भ्राता सगर्भ्यः । अनु सखा सयूथ्यः । उदीचीनाꣳ अस्य पदो निधत्तात् । सूर्यं चक्षुर्गमयतात् । वातं प्राणमन्ववसृजतात् । दिशः श्रोत्रं । अन्तरिक्षमसुं । पृथिवीꣳ शरीरं । एकधास्य त्वचमाच्छ्यतात् । पुरा नाभ्या अपिशसो वपामुत्खिदतात् । अन्तरेवोष्माणं वारयतात् । श्येनमस्य वक्षः कृणुतात् । प्रशसा बाहू । शला दोषणी । कश्यपेवाꣳसा । अच्छिद्रे श्रोणी । कवषोरू स्रेकपर्णाष्ठीवन्ता । षड्विंशतिरस्य वङ्क्रयः । ता अनुष्ठ्योच्च्यावयतात् । गात्रं गात्रमस्यानूनं कृणुतात् । ऊवध्यगोहं पार्थिवं खनतात् । अस्ना रक्षः सꣳसृजतात् । वनिष्ठुमस्य मा राविष्ट । उरूकं मन्यमानाः । नेद्वस्तोके तनये । रविता रवच्छमितारः । अध्रिगो शमीध्वं । सुशमि शमीध्वं । शमीध्वमध्रिगो" इति ।

who invites people to a Soma sacrifice, the hide."* Diverse imprecations are hurled against those who venture to depart from this order of distribution.

The luckiest recipients were no doubt those who got the tongue, the hump, the rounds, and the sirloin ; but some of the inferior officers, such as those who got the feet, the bladder, and the like, could have made but poor use of their shares. They were, however, all allowed plentiful libations of the Soma beer to wash down their meat.

The general rules to be followed in slaughtering animals including cattle, are given by some of the Sútrakáras. They are of course liable to be modified by special rules in connexion with special ceremonies, but in the absence of any such special rule, they should be regularly followed. As'valáyana gives these rules under the head of *Pas'ukalpa* in the eleventh section of the first book of his Griyha Sútra. According to them, after offering oblations of clarified butter to the sacrificial fire, a hearth is to be made to the north of it, for the *Sámitra* or cooking fire. This done, the animal to be slaughtered is to be made to drink plentifully, then bathed, and then made to stand before the sacrificial fire, facing the west. After this two oblations of clarified butter are to be offered with the mantra beginning with the words *Dútam*, &c. The animal should then be touched on the back with a green branch bearing leaves while announcing the resolution, "for the gratification of so and so (naming the god), I slaughter thee." A little water in which paddy and barley have been steeped, is now to be sprinkled on the forepart of the animal, and the aforesaid resolution again repeated. This done, the animal is to be made to drink a part of that water, and the remainder of it is to be thrown on its right fore leg. It is then to be led round the fire three times silently without any mantra, and then carried to the north side, with a burning faggot held before it. When brought to the spot where the cooking hearth has been made, the faggot is to be put into the hearth, and a good fire kindled in it. The master of the ceremony

* अथातः सवनीयस्य पशोर्विभागं व्याख्यास्यामः । उद्धृत्यावदानानि, हनू सजिह्वे प्रस्तोतुः, कण्ठः सकाकुदः प्रतिहर्तुः, श्येनं वक्ष उद्गातुः, दक्षिणं पार्श्वं सांसमध्वर्य्योः, सव्यमुपगातॄणां, सव्योऽंसः प्रतिप्रस्थातुः, दक्षिणा श्रोणिरथ्या वी ब्रह्मणः, अवरसक्थं ब्राह्मणाच्छंसिनः, ऊरुः पोतुः, सव्या श्रोणिर्होतुः, अवरसक्थं मैत्रावरुणस्य ऊरुरच्छावाकस्य, दक्षिणा दोर्नेष्टुः, सव्या सदस्यस्य, सदञ्चानूकञ्च गृहपतेः, जाघनी पत्न्याः, तां सा ब्राह्मणेन प्रतिग्राहयति, वनिष्ठुर्हृदयं वृक्कौ चाङ्गुल्यानि दक्षिणो बाहुराग्नीध्रस्य, सव्य आत्रेयस्य, दक्षिणौ पादौ गृहपतेर्व्रतप्रदस्य, सव्यौ पादौ गृहपतन्या व्रतप्रदायाः, सहैवैनयोरोष्ठस्तं गृहपतिरेवानुशास्ति, मणिकाश्च स्कन्ध्याश्च कीकसा ग्रावस्तुतः, तिस्रश्चैव कीकसा अर्द्धं चापानस्योन्नेतुः, अत ऊर्द्धं चमसाध्वर्य्यूणां, क्लोमाः शमयितुः, शिरः सुब्रह्मण्यस्य, यश्च सुत्यामाह्वयते, तस्य चर्म्म, तथा वसु षट्त्रिंशत्सम्पद्यन्ते । षट्त्रिंशद्ववदाना गौः, षट्त्रिंशदक्षरा बृहती, बार्हता वै स्वर्गा लोकाः, बृहत्या वै देवाः स्वर्गे लोके यजन्ते, बृहत्या स्वर्गे लोके प्रतिष्ठन्ति, प्रतितिष्ठति प्रजया पशुभिर्य एवं विभजन्ते ।

then is to take up two stout sticks of Kásmarya* wood, one with, and the other without, leaves, and successively touch the animal and the Adhvaryu. This done, he should spread some kús'a grass on the west of the hearth, and the animal, having been laid on it with its head towards the east or the west, and the feet pointing towards the north, is to be killed by the Samitá. The instrument of destruction is not named, and it is doubtful whether a knife was used, or a spike of hard wood, one of the gambhári sticks alluded to above, was driven into the region of the heart to effect the destruction. Both methods are noticed elsewhere, and the spike was called *sphya*. But however effected, immediately after the immolation, the master of the ceremony should cover the right hypochondriac region with a little kús'a grass, and make an oblique incision to extract an important organ from the abdomen. If the immolation be made with the animal's head to the east, it will be necessary to turn the carcass over to come to the spot. The organ to be extracted is called *Vapá*, and in Sanskrit dictionaries it is set down as a synonym of fat or marrow. Some take it to be the omentum, but the commentator of As'valáyana describes its place to be a hollow above, and to the right of the navel,† which takes us exactly to the region of the liver, and knowing how eagerly such Hindus as take flesh meat in the present day, like the liver of goats, as a delicacy, I am disposed to believe that the word means the liver. Such a tit bit would be much more worthy of the gods than the skinny omentum, which is utterly unfit for human food.

* *Gmelina arborea*. The wood of this tree is reputed to be remarkably dense, hard and tough. The technical name of the stick is *Vapásrapani*. A srapani is ordinarily a cooking pot, but in the present instance, as one of them should be अशाखा "without leaves" and the other सशाखा with leaves, I infer that sticks are meant.

† शामित्रस्य पश्चिमे देशे बर्हिरुपस्तृणाति कर्त्ता । 'तं यत्र निहनिष्यन्तो भवन्ति तदध्वर्य्युर्बर्हिरधस्तादुपास्यति' इति श्रुतेः । ततस्तस्मिन् बर्हिषि प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वोदक्पादं पशुं संज्ञपयति शमिता । उदक्पादमित्येव सिद्धे प्राक्शिरसं प्रत्यक्शिरसं वेति वचनम्, ऊर्द्ध्वशिरसः संज्ञपनं माभूदित्येवमर्थं । ततः कर्त्ता पुरा नाभेर्वोक् नाभेर्दक्षिणतो नाभेरासीनो वपास्थानं ज्ञात्वा तत्र तृणमन्तर्द्धाय तिर्य्यक् छित्वा वपामुत्खिदेदुद्धरेत् । वपास्थानन्तु दक्षिणस्य पार्श्वस्य विविक्तप्रदेशः । यदि प्राक्शिराः संज्ञप्तः, तदा पशुं दक्षिणं पार्श्वमुत्तानं कृत्वा तृणान्तर्द्धानादि कुर्य्यात् । ततो वपामवदाय श्रपयेत् । पुनर्वपाश्रपणं कृत्स्नावदानार्थं । तेनान्येष्ववदानेष्वकृत्स्नानि श्रपणानि भवन्ति । ततो वपा श्रपणीभ्यां परिस्रुष्याद्भिरभिषिच्य प्रक्षाल्य शामित्रे प्रताप्य, प्रतापनन्तु पर्य्यग्न्यर्थं श्रपणस्योत्तरत्र विधानात् । ततः शामित्रस्योत्तरतो गत्वाऽपरेणैनमौपासनमग्निं वपां कृत्वाऽस्य दक्षिणत आसीनः श्रपयित्वा श्रपयिता तां वपामभिघार्य्य बर्हिषि प्लक्षशाखासु निधाय उभाववग्नी यथागतं परीत्य जुहुयात् स्वाहेति ।

The liver being thus extracted, it should be cut, stuck on the two gambhári sticks, washed, and then heated on the cooking fire. Proceeding then to the sacrificial fire, an offering is to be made to it with a bit of the liver. Sitting then on the south side of that fire, the meat is to be cooked, and butter be dropped on it while cooking. The roast being in this way completely dressed, it should be placed on the leaves of the plaksha tree (*Ficus infectoria*), and further offerings made to the two fires. On this occasion rice is likewise cooked, and the carcass being then cut up into eleven principal parts, such as the heart, the tongue, the briskets, &c. besides other minor parts, they are all to be cooked at the sámitra fire. The heart is to be stuck on a spit and carefully roasted over the fire so as to make it tender, clarified butter being subsequently poured on it to complete the dressing.* On the completion of the operation, the different kinds of cooked meat and rice should be offered to the sacrificial fire with appropriate mantras, each ending with the word *sváhá*. If the meat and rice be offered separately, then separate *svishṭakrit* or final offerings are to be made for each of them, otherwise one final-offering would suffice for all. The roast should be offered last without any mantra. The mantras enjoined are all extracts from the Sañhítá of the Rig Veda.

These rules, simple as they are, are nevertheless too complicated for a feast to be improvised whenever a respectable guest honours a house; and for such a purpose, therefore, a separate set of rules have been provided in which the order of the guest to slaughter, given in a Rig Vedic verse, followed by another when immolating, is held sufficient. The ceremony is called *Madhuparka*, or the offering of honied meal. The persons for whom this ceremony was imperative, were ritvigs, kings, bridegrooms, Vedic students on their return home after the completion of their studies, A'cháryas or tutors coming to a house after a year's absence, fathers-in-law, uncles, and generally all men of high rank.† The first duty of the householder on the arrival of a guest belonging to any of these classes was, after salutation, to offer a seat. This was ordinarily a mat made of kús'a‡ grass, and in the case of ritvijas

* पश्वोर्ध्वं, यानि त्रेतायामेकादशावदानानि पशोः प्रसिद्धानि,तानि यथा स्युरि-त्येवमर्थं। हृदयं जिह्वा वक्ष इत्येवमादीनि। सर्वाङ्गेभ्यश्चैकादशभ्योऽन्यान्यपि यान्यङ्गानि इष्टानि तेषामपि विकल्पेन ग्रहणार्थं। एवमवदाय तानि शामित्रे श्रपयति। हृदयं शूले प्रोत्य प्रतापयति यथा शृतं भवति। ततः शृतान्यभिघार्य्योद्वास्य ततः स्थालीपाकस्यैकदेशं पूर्वं जुहुयात्. ततोऽवदानानि ॥ १२ ॥

† ऋत्विगाचार्य्य-श्वशुर-पितृव्य-मातुलादीनामुपस्थाने मधुपर्कः,. संवत्सरे पुनर्यज्ञविवा-हयोरर्वाग् राज्ञः श्रोत्रियस्य च ॥ १२० ॥ Gautama apud Kullúka Bhaṭṭa; Manu, III, 120.

‡ कुशैर्दर्भैर्विनिर्मितं।

or officiating priests, it was the most appropriate; but the word used for it by *A's'valáyana* is *vishṭara,* which means simply an article to sit upon, and it may have been a carpet, a stool, a chair, or a couch. Wooden seats are particularly mentioned in different works.

After the guest was seated, the most appropriate article for refreshing him, in a warm country like India, was water to wash his feet with. This was called *pádya,* and the rule on the subject required that a Bráhmaṇa guest should have his right foot washed first, and then the left, the order being reversed in the case of S'údras; the Kshatríyas and Vaisyas being left to follow their own inclination in the matter. The washing was repeated three times. The next offering was the *arghya,* which consisted of a little water with scents and flower garlands,* and was no doubt much more appropriate than what is offered to gods in the present day, which consists of sandal wood paste and a few grains of rice thrown on a flower and sprinkled over with water. The mantra for the offering was repeated three times. A glass of water for washing the face next followed, and the guest was expected to drink of it as much as he liked. The *Madhuparka* strictly so called was next brought forward. It consisted of curds and honey held in a small cup, butter being substituted when honey was not at hand. When bringing it, the host was required to look at it and repeat a mantra three times. The guest received the cup while repeating a mantra, then looked at it while repeating another, and mixing the ingredients in the cup with his index finger or the thumb or the little finger with a third, and cleared his finger by giving it a jerk while repeating a fourth mantra. He was required then to repeat three mantras successively, throwing a little of the mixture after each repetition upwards into the air with the tip of his finger, offering it to Rudra, A'ditya, and Vis'vedeváh. Then placing the cup on the ground, he tasted the mixture three times, repeating a mantra on each occasion. According to some, he had to eat the whole of the mixture in three mouthfuls, but according to others, a portion was left behind to be given to a Bráhmaṇ, or should such a person to receive it happen not to be at hand, to be thrown into water.† A drink of water after this honeyed meal was of course a necessity, which was met in the same way as the first drink before the meal, the mantra for it being the same; but a second drink followed with a different mantra. The order to give the remains of a tasted food to a Bráhmaṇ is worthy of note. It would be the direst insult to a Bráhmaṇ in the present day to ask him to receive such an offering.

* गन्धमाल्यादिसंयुक्तमुदकमुच्यते । Garganáráyana's Vritti on A's'valáyana, 105.

† ब्राह्मणाय उच्छिष्टं अनुताद्यमिदं उदङ्मुखो मधुपर्कं प्रयच्छेत्. ब्राह्मणालाभे अप्सु निषिञ्चेत् ॥ १९ ॥

A cow was next brought forward and offered to the guest; whereupon he said, "My sin is destroyed, destroyed is my sin," and then ordered the immolation of the animal with the words *Om kuru*, "accomplish, Amen."* The host thereupon immolated the cow in the name of some appropriate divinity. If it were desired that the cow should be sanctified and let loose, then the guest repeated the mantra: "This cow is the mother of the Rudras, and the daughter of the Vasus, the sister of the Ádityas, and the pivot of our happiness; therefore I solemnly say unto all wise men, kill not this harmless sacred cow. Let her drink water and eat grass;"† and then ordered it to be let loose, and the same was accordingly done. Lest this should lead to the idea that the feast at this ceremony may be celebrated without flesh meat, Ás'waláyana emphatically ordains that no *Madhuparka* should be celebrated without flesh meat,‡ and his commentator Garganáráyaṇa provides for this by saying that "when the animal is sacrificed, its meat supplies the requirement of the feast; should it be let loose, flesh meat should be provided by other means, but on no account should the feast be without that article."§

In this he has followed the ordinance of Manu, who declares that the man who, having in due form performed a (Madhuparka or other) ceremony, fails to eat flesh meat, will be doomed to be born an animal for twenty-one generations;|| and that Brahmá having created animals for sacrifices, their immolation at a Vedic ceremonial cannot be injurious, and that animals, beasts, trees, tortoises, and birds, destroyed in the performance of sacred rites, rise after death in the scale of creation.¶

Convenient as the ceremony of Madhuparka was for the celebration of a feast, it was not calculated to afford a ready and cheap supply of meat to persons given to its use, and accordingly Manu ordained (ante, p. 176,) that

* आचान्तोदकाय गां वेदयन्ते ॥ २२ ॥
हतो मे पाप्मा पाप्मा मे हत इति जपित्वा ओं कुरुतेति कारयिष्यन् ॥ २४ ॥
इमं मन्त्रं जपित्वा ॐ कुरुतेति ब्रूयात्। यदि कारयिष्यन् मारयिष्यन् भवति तदा च दाता आलभेत। तत्र देवताः प्रागुक्ताः ॥ २४ ॥

† माता रुद्राणां दुहिता वसूनाᳫं स्वसाऽऽदित्यानाममृतस्य नाभिः। प्र नु वोचं चिकितुषे जनाय मा गामनागामदितिं वधिष्ट। पिबतूदकं तृणान्यत्तु। ओमुत्सृजत ॥
This mantra occurs in the ceremony of letting loose the cow which used to be led before a corpse to the burning ground at a funeral. Vide ante vol. XXXIX p. 247.

‡ नामांसो मधुपर्को भवति भवति ॥ २६ ॥

§ मधुपर्काङ्गभोजनममांसं न भवतीत्यर्थः। कुतः। मांसस्य भोजनाङ्गत्वेन लोके प्रसिद्धत्वात्। अनेनाभ्युपायेन भोजनमप्यत्र विहितं भवति। पशुकरणपक्षे तन्मांसेन भोजनं, उत्सर्जनपक्षे मांसान्तरेण। Ás'valáyana I, 24-26.

|| Manu V. 35.

¶ Ibid V. 394.

flesh meat purchased at the butchers' stall was pure, and fit for consumption by pious Hindus. I have nowhere noticed that butchers were required, as among the Muhammadans, to observe any ceremonial rite before slaughtering animals, and am disposed to believe that none was observed, and that the only restriction was that the person purchasing meat for food had to offer a portion of it after dressing it to the gods, manes, guests, or beggars, which sufficed to accomplish a *yajña.*

It is worthy of note here, that while killing of Bráhmaṇs, drinking of spirituous liquors by Bráhmans, stealing of gold belonging to Bráhmans, defilement of the bed of spiritual preceptors, and association for a year with those who are guilty of the aforesaid four crimes, are reckoned by Yájñavalkya among the most heinous crimes—*Mahápátaka*, the mischievous killing of cattle is included among secondary or *upapátaka* offences, and the expiation for it is comparatively slight. A Bráhmaṇ guilty of drinking spirits cannot expiate his crime without suicide produced by a draft of molten metal, while a cow-killer is let off by Samvarta with a fortnight's short-commons, consisting of barley-meal, milk, curds and butter, a feast to Bráhmaṇs and the gift of a cow.* Yájñavalkya is a little more exacting; he insists upon drinking of the five products of the cow, *pañchagavya*, following a cow as it roams about, sleeping in a cattle-shed regularly for a whole month, and ending with the gift of a cow, or a fine equal to the value of the animal destroyed.† He also recommends other forms of expiation, and his rival Smṛitikáras have each his own scheme; but none insists upon any thing approaching to suicide.

The author of the *Nárasiñhiya Prayoga Párijáta* has copied verbatim As'valáyanás rule about the necessity of eating beef at the Madhuparka ceremony, but qualified it by a quotation from the Áditya Puráṇa which says that in the present Kali age the Madhuparka should be celebrated without slaughtering a cow. This quotation has been given at length both by Párásara‡ and Hemádri and other compilers, and runs as follows:—"Protracted Brahmacharya, carrying of the begging pot called Kamaṇḍalu, production of issue by a brother-in-law, gift of a daughter once already given away (widow marriage), marriage with girls of other than one's own caste by the twice-born classes, killing of noble Bráhmaṇas (versed in the Vedas) in fair warfare even if they come to the attack, entrance into the Vánaprastha

* सक्तुयावकभैक्षाशी पयोदधिघृतं सकृत् ।
एतानि क्रमशोऽश्नीयान्मासार्द्धं सुसमाहितः ।
ब्राह्मणान् भोजयित्वा तु गां दद्यादात्मशुद्धये ॥ संवर्त्तः ।

† पञ्चगव्यं पिबन् गोघ्नो मासमासीत संयतः ।
गोष्ठेशयो गोऽनुगामी गोप्रदानेन शुध्यति ॥ याज्ञवल्क्यः ।

‡ I suppose this is a compiler and not the author of the Sañhitá, for the latter does not quote authorities in support of his rules and ordinances.

state according to law, reduction of the period of mourning on account of duty, or service, or for reading the Vedas; expiations on the part of Bráhmans involving loss of life, condemnation for association with criminals, immolation of animals at the Madhuparka, acceptance as sons, of other than legitimate and adopted sons; boarding together on the part of the twice-born householders with a servant, cowherd, friend of the family, and persons with whom agriculture is jointly carried on if they be S'udras by caste; pilgrimage to very remote places; cooking of food by S'udras for Bráhmans, expiatory suicide by falling from very high places, or into the fire; suicide on account of extreme old age, and the like have been abstained from by noble and learned men at the beginning of the Kali Yuga for the well-being of mankind. The practice of revered persons is proof as potent as that of the Vedas."* The Vrihannáradíya Puráṇa follows this very closely, but at the same time it omits some acts and prohibits others which are not condemned by the former. The additional acts condemned are, suicide by getting one's self drowned in the sea, offering of flesh meat at S'ráddhas, human sacrifice, horse sacrifice, Gomedha sacrifice, and Vedic yajñas involving sacrifices of cattle.† It is

* हेमाद्रिपराशरयोरादित्यपुराणम् ।

दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्यं धारणञ्च कमण्डलोः ।
देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्दत्तकन्या प्रदीयते ॥
कन्यानामसवर्णानां विवाहश्च द्विजातिभिः ।
आततायिद्विजाग्र्याणां धर्मयुद्धेन हिंसनं ।
वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्यापि प्रवेशो विधिचोदितः ॥
वृत्तस्वाध्यायसापेक्षमघसङ्कोचनं तथा ।
प्रायश्चित्तविधानञ्च विप्राणां मरणान्तिकं ॥
संसर्गदोषः पापेषु मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।
दत्तौरसेतरेषान्तु पुत्रत्वेन परिग्रहः ॥
शूद्रेषु दासगोपालकुलमित्रार्द्धसीरिणां ।
भोज्यान्नता गृहस्थस्य तीर्थसेवातिदूरतः ॥
ब्राह्मणादिषु शूद्रस्य पक्वतादिक्रियापि च ।
भृग्वग्निपतनञ्चैव वृद्धादिमरणन्तथा ॥

इत्यादीनभिधाय ।

एतानि लोकगुप्त्यर्थं कलेरादौ महात्मभिः ।
निवर्त्तितानि कर्म्माणि व्यवस्थापूर्वकं बुधैः ।
समयश्चापि साधूनां प्रमाणं वेदवद् भवेत् ॥

† वृहन्नारदीये । समुद्रयात्रास्वीकारः कमण्डलुविधारणम् ।

द्विजानामसवर्णासु कन्यासूपयमस्तथा ॥
देवरेण सुतोत्पत्तिर्मधुपर्के पशोर्वधः ।
मांसादनं तथा श्राद्धे वानप्रस्थाश्रमस्तथा ॥

worthy of note, however, that this prohibition in the *Áditya Puráṇa* is not positive and explicit, but implied: "Because certain noble and wise men did not do so, and the practice of pious men is proof as potent as that of the Vedas," ergo they should not be done, the author wished to say, but did not do so in so many words. Both these extracts proceed from Upapuráṇas of probably not more than eleven or twelve hundred years of age. According to Professor Wilson, the Upapuráṇas are not older than the twelfth century, but seeing that the Vrihannáradíya has been quoted as an authority by Vallála Sena in his Dánaságara, and he lived in the eleventh century, it must be at least four or five centuries older; but they have been so carelessly preserved, and are so full of interpolations, and altogether are of such questionable authenticity, that even the most orthodox Hindu holds them to be of very secondary rank compared to the Vedas, the Smṛitis and the Sútras. Thus it is said in the *Prayoga Párijáta* that where the S'ruti and the Smṛiti disagree, the S'ruti should prevail. Again the Smṛitis are more venerable than the Puráṇas, and of the Smṛitis Manu is the most authoritative.*

In the opinion of Paulastya, who is himself an original Smṛitikára, Manu must yield to the Kalpa Sútras, which, being derived immediately from the Vedas, are of greater authority than the Smṛitis.† This has not been contradicted by any lawgiver or commentator. The Upapuráṇas hold a lower rank than the Puráṇas, and have nowhere been allowed to override the latter, much less the S'ruti and the Smṛiti; the order of precedence being according to the above, 1st S'ruti or Veda, 2nd Sútra, 3rd Smṛiti, 4th Puráṇas, 5th Upapuráṇa. It is not a little remarkable, therefore, that the last should be allowed in the present instance to prevail over the first four. The author of the *Nírṇaya sindhu* assumes even a lower ground. He begins by quoting an unnamed authority which says, "Works which lead not to paradise, and are condemned by public opinion, should not be performed;" and then argues, "Thus, the slaughter of large bulls and large sheep for Bráhmaṇas versed in the Vedas, though duly ordained, should not be done, being

दत्तायाश्चैव कन्यायाः पुनर्दानं वरस्य च ।
दीर्घकालं ब्रह्मचर्य्यं नरमेधाश्वमेधकौ ॥
महाप्रस्थानगमनं गोमेधं च तथा मखं ।
इमान् धर्मान् कलियुगे वर्ज्यानाहुर्मनीषिणः ॥

* श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणानां विरोधो यत्र दृश्यते ।
तत्र श्रौतं प्रमाणन्तु तयोर्द्वैधे स्मृतिर्वरा ॥
वेदार्थोपनिबन्धृत्वात् प्राधान्यं हि मनोः स्मृतम् ।
मन्वर्थविपरीता या सा स्मृतिरप्रशस्यते ॥

† कल्पसूत्रस्मृत्योर्विरोधे प्रत्यक्षश्रुतिमूलत्वेन कल्पसूत्रं प्रबलमित्याह स्मार्त्ता सङ्ग्रहे पौलस्त्याः ।

detested by the public. Further, the rule, let a cow fit for offering to Mitra and Varuṇa, or a barren cow, or one that has ceased to bear after first calving, be sacrificed, is duly ordained; still such sacrifice being opposed to public feeling, should not be performed."* If such be the case, the question arises, whence comes this public feeling against the ordinances of the Vedas? And we can nowhere meet with a more appropriate reply than in the fact that when the Bráhmaṇs had to contend against Buddhism, which emphatically and so successfully denounced all sacrifices, they found the doctrine of respect for animal life too strong and too popular to be overcome, and therefore gradually and imperceptibly adopted it in such a manner as to make it appear a part of their S'ástra. They gave prominence to such passages as preached benevolence and mercy for all animated creation, and so removed to the background the sacrificial ordinances as to put them entirely out of sight. Such a process is even now going on in Hinduism under the influence of Christianity, and, as the Hindu mind was during the ascendancy of Buddhism already well prepared for a change by the teachings of the Buddhist missionaries, no difficulty was met with in making faith, devotion, and love supply the place of the holocausts and unlimited meat offerings ordained by the Vedas. The abstention was at first no doubt optional, but gradually it became general, partly from a natural disposition to benevolence, and partly out of respect for the feeling of Buddhist neighbours, such as the Muhammadans now evince for their Hindu fellow-subjects by abstaining from beef in different parts of Bengal, that writers found it easy to appeal to the practice of the people and public feeling as proofs even as potent as the Vedas, and authoritatively to declare that sacrifices were forbidden in the present age. This once done, the change was complete. In short, the Buddhist appeal to humanity proved too much for the Smṛiti, and custom has now given a rigidity to the horror against the sacrifice of animal life, which even the Vedas fail to overcome.

* अस्वर्ग्यं लोकविद्विष्टं धर्म्ममप्याचरेन्न त्विति निषेधात्। यथा, महोक्षं वा महाजं वा श्रोत्रियाय प्रकल्पयेदितिविधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं। यथा वा मैत्रावरुणीं गां वशामनुबन्ध्यामालभेत इति गवालम्भनविधानेऽपि लोकविद्विष्टत्वादननुष्ठानं।
निर्णयसिन्धुः।

The Conquest of South India in the Twelfth century by Parákrama Báhu, the great King of Ceylon.—*By* T. W. Rhys Davids, *District Judge, Anurádhápúra, Ceylon.*

It is known from Turnour's Epitome and Armour's translation of the Dambulla inscription that Parákrama Báhu's generals made successful expeditions into South India, but no detailed account has yet been published. The history of these expeditions is given in the Maháwaṇsa, chapters 76 and 77; but as these contain 439 verses, equal to about one-seventh of the published part of the book, a translation of them would occupy too much space, and would be a formidable task to undertake, while a shorter account from one of the many trustworthy Siñhalese histories may be useful to those who take interest in the history and ancient geography of the Dak'hin. I have chosen the 'Narendracarit-ávalokana-pradípikáwa,' the account in which, though a mere abstract, may be depended upon to contain nothing not found in the Maháwaṇsa, and to be in fact as far as it goes almost a literal translation of that work with many omissions.

The chapter translated is the 66th; the next goes on to relate how Kulasekhara, after his flight in disguise, fortified himself in the stronghold* of Toṇḍamána, and afterwards, sallying thence, retook Kandayaru, defeating two of Lankápura's lieutenants: how Lankápura again defeated him, re-established peace, and confirmed Wírapándu on the throne, restoring the banished Tamil nobles to their lands, and anointing Wírapándu in the city of Madura. It is mentioned also incidentally that on the orders of Parákráma Báhu he struck copper coins (Kahawanu, from Kahapaṇa = Kárshápaṇa). There are three copper coins of Parákrama Báhu, two given in Prinsep,† of which I know of at least twenty or thirty examples, and one very rare with a well-executed lion on the reverse by the side of the standing figure. It will also, I think, appear from the notes to this translation that the gold coin with the inscription *Laṇkeswara*, unassigned by Prinsep, must have been struck by Parákrama Báhu.

The 66th Chapter of Narendracaritávalokana Pradípikáwa.

After that, when the Mahárájá Parákrama Báhu was promoting religion (*Sáṣana*) and prosperity, after in the 8th year from his coronation, as is related above, he had fought the great fight with his enemies in Ruhunu raṭa,‡ and having conquered was living in security; although both because the

* Parwata widurgga.

† Edition by Thomas, I, 419.

‡ The southern part of Ceylon.

belief of the people of Rámánya was the same as that of the Buddha-believing-men of Ceylon, and also because it was the ancient custom so to do, Parákráma, the King, was living in peace with the King of Rámánya—yet the ruler of Rámánya, listening to the words of wicked men, forsook the old custom of providing maintenance for the ambassadors of the Lanká rájá,* and at the sale of elephants and tuskers raised the price above the wonted price; and further, when he read the royal message sent to him, he, saying, "These messengers are sent to go to Kámboja," and so plundered all their goods and put them in prison in the Malaya country. And further, without hearing the friendly words of the ambassador *(dútámátya)* Topaswí, sent about this matter by the king of Ceylon, he seized their *(sic)* tuskers and ships, and having tortured them made them hewers of wood and drawers of water: and he stopped the letters and seized the presents of honour which the king of Ceylon sent to a chief (jeṣhṭa) in Jambudwípa named Kásyapa. Then one day he sent for the imprisoned ambassadors and said, "The Siñhalese ships had no right to come to our land; therefore give me letters under your hand that no wrong has been done to you, the ambassadors." So he frightened them with the fear of death, and took letters under their hand. Then he put them both, namely, Wágíswarácári and Dharmakírti Paṇḍita, on board a leaky vessel and sent them out to sea.

Soon after, he seized some royal virgins sent by the king of Ceylon to the king of Kámboja: on hearing this, Parákrama Báhu was very angry, and assembled his council, and told them all the facts, saying, "We must kill or bring here that king who *will* be our enemy, which of you undertakes the task?" Damiládhikárí, the chief of the astrologers, accepted the task joyfully, and quickly made several hundred ships ready for sea, and in less than five months put to sea with his fleet properly officered and with provisions for twelve months, and shields to stop the swiftest arrows, and swords, and bows, and arrows and poisoned† arrows, and all other kinds of weapons, and doctors with their assistants.

Of these one ship arrived at Kákadwípa and having fought there and taken the king and his ministers prisoners, brought and delivered them up to Parákrama Báhu, the king. Two ships arrived at the harbour Kusuma in Aramuna, and took in battle and laid waste the country from the port Sapattota,‡ over which Kurttipurapam was Governor.

Damiládhikárí himself arrived at the port Papphâta, and there having fought a great battle and taken the inhabitants alive and seized the whole land of Rámánya, went on to the city of Ukkáka, and took prisoner the Lord of Rámánya, and overcame the land: then going round the town on

* Query, Paying the salary of a Political Resident?

† This word is doubtful, *wisadewa*, the latter half of which is not clear.

‡ Tota = tirtha; pam = usually parwata.

the prime minister's own white elephant, he proclaimed the orders of the Lord of Ceylon.

At that time great fear fell on all the people of Rámánya. They thought, "This has happened by our folly: in future let us give the tribute of elephants as many as are wanted: and let us do service* to the king." So they sent letters to the priesthood of Srí Lanká stating this, and asking that the Lord of Ceylon† might be pleased to take away their fear. This news the priests of the three sects‡ made known to Parákrama Báhu, and it was ordered accordingly.

At that time, the Páṇḍu king Parákrama of the city of Madura being terrified by the army with which king Kulasekhara was preparing to attack him, fled for help to the royal feet of Parákrama Báhu: who listened kindly to the ambassadors, thinking: "It is right to protect those who come to us for help," and sending for Lankápura-daṇḍa-nátha, the minister, commanded him saying—"Go and establish Parákrama as overlord (mahárájá) in his own country and slay that Kulasekhara." So he received the order on his own head, and made ready for the voyage at Mahatota.§

At that time Kulasekhara, the king, had already surrounded Madura with a large army, and had taken prisoner the Páṇḍu king and his army. Parákrama Bahu, the great king, hearing this, sent orders saying "Establish in that kingdom some one who comes of the stock of the kings of Páṇḍu." So Lankápura-daṇḍa-nátha|| with a great army filling several hundred ships

* *Mehewara*, homage.

† Lord of Ceylon = Lankeswara. Parákráma Báhu's full title given in his inscription at Dambulla is Aprati Malla Niṣṣanka Malla Kálinga Lankeṣwara, Parákráma Báhu Cakra wartín wahanse. The Sanskrit Gáthá at the commencement of the great inscriptions at the Palace Gate in Pulastipura concludes, "Hear then wise counsels, they are spoken by Niṣṣanka Malla (Niṣṣanka mallodıtán). The name Lankeswara explains the gold coin which Prinsep (Edition, Thomas, Vol. I., 421) could not understand.

‡ There are several examples of the peace-making propensities of the Buddhist priests in the Maháwansa (pp. 148, LXV, last line), but not one of their having stirred up religious war The union of these three sects [niká] into one is always referred to as one of Parákráma Báhu the Great's most glorious achievements.

§ On the main land, opposite Mannár Island, there are still extensive ruins, or rather heaps of ruins, in which many coins and jewels have been found after heavy rains, among others the Lankeswara gold coin above alluded to.

|| This name occurs four times in the MS., Lankápura-daṇḍa-má-nátha, Lankárapura-daṇḍa-nátha, and twice simply Lankárapura. As my MS. of the Narendra-caritávalokana-pradípikáwa is the only one I know of, I have no means of comparing MSS., and have simply chosen Lankápura as a well known word and likely name, which Lankárapura is not. The latter has, however, this MS. in its favour and is quite possible. Daṇḍanátha or Mánátha is about equal to Lord High Sheriff. The appointment of this officer and the chief astrologer as generals seem to me to imply, not so

crossed the sea, and landed at a place called Laccilla (pronounce Lachchilla), and there fought with and defeated the army of a Tamil named Arak. The rulers of the five districts (*maṇḍalika*) Lattirikkaya-Náḍálawála, Kuṇḍamuttará, Willácára, Ancukoṭṭanáḍálawára, Narasinha-dewa, then came up with an army, and after a fierce fight were routed and defeated. In the tenth battle, Sílá-megha, Rájá-tungabráhmá, Hankiya-ráyara, Ancukoṇḍa-ráyara, Palumbiya-ráyara, Panasiyaráyara, these six rulers joined their forces to those of the above named five; but after a fierce battle they also were overthrown.

Then on the orders of Parákrama Báhu, Lankápura-daṇḍanátha put up a pillar about four *gaus* from Rámeswara and half way between the two seas, and bringing many people from Kandukála there, he made them repair all the viháras in Ceylon which they the Tamils had themselves destroyed: and he formed at that place a town called Parákrama, surrounding it with a large rampart, two thousand four hundred cubits long, and there he lived.

At that time when the Siñhalese army having encamped was collecting their forces from the divisions* Lokacukuṇḍi and Colagangá, Kulasekhara sent Sundara, the Páṇḍu king, and many councillors to the war, but Lankárapura defeated them in three pitched battles, and took the town Marukkaṭṭa. From thence in the battle with Álawaná Perumal, he overcame the following countries, villages, and towns† with their inhabitants, *viz.*, Kollúraya, Máruluthúpaya, Sokacakuṇḍiyá, Marawaraya, and Kunappunallúraya. Again, when the three chiefs Uttaraya, Gopuraya, and Kírtigajadwíraya assembled their forces in Sempota-márita, he defeated the three armies of Kunnawara, Kallara, and Wallakunnara, and took all their horses, chariots, elephants, and baggage.

Kulasekhara then prepared for a campaign in the Kandayu district, called Wisutrippálu, and with his generals Tuwarádhipati, Welára, Naṇḍamátarana, Wírajjeráyara, Nigasaráyara, Kalawadi-nálawára, Kánga-ráyara, and many others surrounded Kandayuruwa. But the Siñhalese commanders, the energetic Lankápura and Jagadwijaya consulted together, joined their forces, gave battle, and broke the armies of Kulasekhara and his Tamil warriors, who fled to their own countries, and closing all their doors and gates made themselves fast there. Then Dewa Lankápura and his generals

much that generals were chosen from the high civil officers, as that the high civil appointments were filled (as is often the case in the backward states of society) by military men.

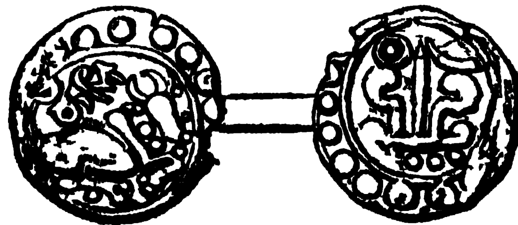
* This use of the word maṇḍalika is inconsistent with that noted above; but the dictionaries do not give the word, and the names seem clearly to point above to men, and here to countries. Narasinha-deva could scarcely be applied to a country, and Colagangá is as unlikely a name for a man.

† Niyamagráma.

Gokanna, Daṇḍa-náyaka, Kesa-dhátu, and Loka-wunga, collected their forces at the Western gate,* and broke in, each through a different rampart or gate, and entered the city, and slaughtered an immense host of Tamils and their cavalry. Kulasekhara then became afraid, and escaped through the East gate in disguise, and got away. So the Siñhalese destroyed many Tamils, and took much plunder, and put up flags of victory, and celebrated a festival of victory, and made Wírapáṇḍu king with great ceremony.

Note on an Arakanese Coin.—By Captain G. E. Fryer, *Officiating Deputy Commissioner of Sandoway.*

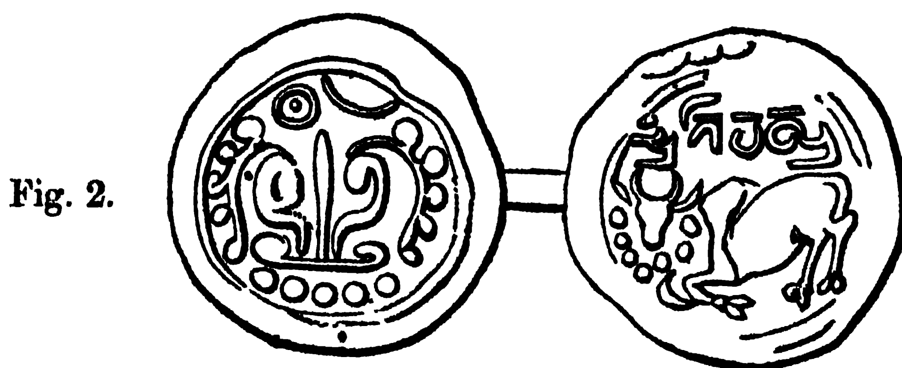
The subject of this paper is a small silver coin of about the size of a four-anna piece (Fig. 1) bearing the following device, *obverse*, a bull couFig. 1.



chant, caparisoned, Nagarí characters imperfect: *reverse*, the sun, and crescent moon and trident within a circle, outside of which is a row of round dots.

The coin is smaller than those described by Captain Latter in the Journal for February, 1846, but is of precisely the same type as two therein figured, one of which is here reproduced (fig. 2).

Fig. 2.



Captain Latter thought that they were "Shivite coins probably appertaining to a time when the emblems of the worship of Shiva and those of

* The name of the city being not given, there must I think be a misreading in the word Siya-nandawu-rata, translated above "to their own countries." (*Siya*, one's own from *swa*). *Nagara* in Sanskrit is *nuwara* in Siñhalese, and *ṭa* is the sign of the dative case; the latter half of siyanandawu-raṭa should therefore perhaps be *nuwaraṭa* and the former half the name of the city, *Siyana* or *Siyata* (there being no distinction made in my MS. between *t* and *n*), or some such name.

Buddhism had something in common; for we see in them the Buddhist triglyph represented by the trident of Shiva. On each side is a scroll and beneath are certain round dots. These dots are curious, for they here occupy the same position in reference to the triglyph of Shiva that the guttæ do to the triglyph of architecture," and he called them symbolical coins, because he considered they represented "whatever ideas they were intended to convey by means of pure symbolism alone, and afforded no clue by which to connect them with any particular prince."

The characters upon the coin now exhibited are too indistinct to admit of their being deciphered, but those upon Captain Latter's are clear and well defined, and I trust to be able to show that they are not, as has been supposed, symbolical coins, but are, in fact, records of an ancient dynasty of Arakan kings. The titles upon the obverse of Captain Latter's coins, are here reproduced.

a. *b.* *c.*

Captain Latter considered "(*c*) to represent the characteristics of the old Páli Alphabet with the exception of the first letter and may be read *Sri Vrieghau.* The other two may be determined by those better versed in the old Nagarí character; (*b*) is of a more ancient type than (*a*), which last is of the same class as the characters comprising the inscription on the temple of Shiva in the village of Darshi, described in the Society's Journal, No. 43, July, 1835."

With the exception of the final compound *ndr* in (*a*) and (*b*), which is probably modern, the characters seem to correspond with the Sanskrit of the fifth century A. D., as given in the table of modifications at p. 276, Vol. VII of the Journal, for 1838.

Our Assistant Secretary, Pratápachandra Ghosha, well-versed in Nagarí characters, has proposed the following readings for these letters—(*c*) instead of *Srí vrieghau*, he would read *Srí-vi-krama*: (*b*) *Srí-ta-candra*: (*a*) *Dhamma-chandra.* Thus two out of the three end in *chandra.*

Captain Latter in his paper states, that a popular tradition is connected with these coins, which shortly is as follows:—a certain Arakan king, before setting out on a voyage to China, left with his wife a ring, and told her in case he did not return in seven years, she was to raise to the throne and marry any person whom it would fit. It fitted a herdsman whom she married, and who, in commemoration of his origin, put on these coins an ox and a goad (the trident).

In Vol. XIII of the Journal, pp. 36, 37, Captain (now Sir Arthur) Phayre tells us in his 'History of Arakan,' that the monarch who set out for

China was *Cula taing candra*, the ninth and last sovereign of the dynasty of the city of *Vaisali*, and that his wife *Cau-da-devi*, in $\frac{\text{Arakan era 319}}{\text{A. D. 957}}$, first married and raised to the throne a chief of the *Myu* tribe, named *Amyatu*, and on his death, seven years after, married his nephew *Pe-byu*, both of whom the ring was found to fit. After *Pe-byu's* accession in A. D. 964, he abandoned the city of *Vaisali*, and closed a dynasty which had virtually ended in A. D. 957, when *Cula taing candra* was drowned on his return from China. All the names in this dynasty end in *candra*, and that of the seventh king *Siri taing candra* is so like *Srí ta candra* on one of Captain Latter's coins, that the identity seems complete.

I think therefore we may rightly regard these coins as records of the *Vaisali* dynasty of Arakan, of which there reigned in lineal succession nine kings from A. D. 788 to 957, or throughout a period of 169 years, synchronous with the Anglo-Saxon period of English history.

	Dynasty of Vaisali.	A. D.
1.	Maha taing candra,	788
2.	Suriya taing candra,	810
3.	Mola taing candra,	830
4.	Pola taing candra,	849
5.	Kala taing candra,	875
6.	Dula taing candra,	884
7.	Siri taing candra,	903
8.	Singha taing candra,	935
9.	Cula taing candra,	951

List of the Books contained in Chand's poem, the Prithirája Ráso.—*By* JOHN BEAMES, *B. C. S., Balasore.*

I receive so many letters from enquirers in various parts of India asking for information as to whether this or that poem is to be found in the genuine works of Chand, that I conceive the Society would be doing a favour to scholars in publishing the following accurate list in supersession of some defective and inaccurate list previously made public.

There are in circulation in some parts of India scraps of bardic poems all of which are dignified by the name of Chand. Some of these are apparently extracts from the real work, others are by entirely different authors.

Five MSS. may be taken to be genuine ;—

1. The Baidla.
2. Colonel Tod's, R. A. Socy.
3. Colonel Caulfield's, do.
4. The Bodleian.
5. The Agra College.

All these five I have seen, and compared the headings of the chapters in each ; with very few and trifling exceptions they all agree in this respect, and we may, therefore, on their authority pronounce the following list to be correct, and may reject, or at least look with suspicion on, all fragments of old Hindí rhapsodies which do not find a place in it. If genuine, they are at any rate not "canonical." I give a brief note of the contents of those prastavas which I have read, of the rest merely the names and number of kavitts are given.

1. **Adi Parva.** 401 kavitts.* Invocations, legends of early sages, the origin of the Chauhán race, their genealogy, birth of Prithiráj.

2. **Da'sama.** 220k. Poems on the ten avatárs of Vishnu.

3. **Di'li'ki'li' katha'.** 39k. Story of the iron pillar.

4. **Aja'nva'h.** 18k. 166 lines also called Loháná Ajánváhu.

5. **Kanhapatti.** 64k. also called Kanhákhapaṭṭi. Kanh the Chauhán kills Pratáp Singh the Châluk in open darbár, because he twisted his moustache. Prithiraj compels him to wear a bandage over his eyes in darbár; hence the name of the book.

6. **A'khetak bir.** 113k. Marvellous story of a hunting expedition in in which Chand sees Siva and gets a blessing from him.

7. **Na'har Rai.** 118k. Fight with Náhar Rái.

8. **Mewa'ti' Mugal.** 45k. Fight with the Mewátís.

* Each kavitt, or chhand, contains generally about 30 lines, except Sáṭhak, dohá and one or two peculiar and rarely used metres, which seldom exceed 8 lines each.

9. **Husen Katha.** 94k. Battle with Shahábuddín, who came after Husen Khán, one of his chiefs, who had taken refuge with Prithiráj. Shaháb is captured, but released, Husen slain.

10. **A'khet Chu'k.** 80k. Shaháb attacks Prithiráj when out hunting, with very few attendants, but is defeated.

11. **Chitrarekha'.** 17k. Story of Chitrarekhá, the Gakkhar princess, who was the *causa belli* between Shaháb and Husen Khán in Bk. 9. She was the Sháh's concubine and Husen ran away with her.

12. **Bhola Rai'.** 285k. War with Bholá Rái of Gujarát.

13. **Salakh Judh.** 94k. Salakh takes the Sultán captive, he is released.

14. **Inchhini' Vyah.** 118k. Prithiráj's marriage with Inchhiní.

15. **Mugal Judh.** 20k. Battle with the Mughals.

16. **Da'himi Vya'h.** 16k. Marriage with Dáhimi, daughter of Chand Sen, the Pundír.

17. **Bhu'mi Swapan.** 47k.

18. **Dillida'n.** 47. Gift of the kingdom of Dilli to Prithiráj by his grandfather Anangapál, the Tuar.

19. **Ma'dho Bha't.** 113k. Visit of Madho the Bhat, fresh attack by the Sultan Shahábuddín; he is captured and let go again on paying a fine in accordance with Rájpút custom.

20. **Padma'vati Vya'h.** 46k. Already translated by me in J. A. S. B. I reckoned it as the 19th book, but it is the 20th. In Tod's copy, the Akhet bir is not counted. This omission makes all the numbering of the chapters wrong by one throughout.

21. **Alha' Udal.** Also called P r i t h i r â j a r â y a s o, a name differing from Prithirâj râso, but often erroneously applied to the whole poem; it is also called M a h o b a S a m y o, 308 kavits; occupies 52 quarto pages. The longest but one of all the chapters.

Relates the war with Parimál, the Chandel King of Mahobá, in which he was assisted by the two heroes A'lhá and Udal of the Banáphar clan.

22. **Pritha Vya'h.** 99k. Marriage of Prithá, sister of Prithiraj with Samar Singh, Rájá of Chittrakot.

23. **Holi Katha'.** 22. Short kavitts. Description of the Holi festival, the origin of which is attributed to Siva's gift to a female devotee, contrary to the modern Vaishnava theory.

24. **Di'pma'l. Katha'.** 35k. Legendary origin of the Dipmála or Dewáli festival.

25. **Dhan Katha'.** 314k. Prithiráj finds a treasure in the Khattu forest. While digging it up, is attacked by the Sultan whom, as usual, he captures and releases.

26. Sa'sibrata'. 542k. Abduction of Sasibrata, daughter of the Rájá of Deogiri, by Prithiráj, and war with Jaychand of Kanauj in consequence.

27. Devagiri. 64k. Siege of Deogiri by Jaychand and his ultimate defeat by Chamand Rái, one of Prithiráj's generals.

28. Rewa'tata. 96k. Battle with the Sultán on the banks of the Rewá.

29. Anangpa'l. 98k. Anangpál returns to Dilli, but after a short stay returns to Badrináth. (He wanted to get the kingdom back again from Prithiráj, but failed).

30. Ghagharki lara'i. 48k. Battle with the Sháh at the Ghaghar river (Daradwati, near Ambala).

31. Karnati Patra. 23k. Prithiráj goes to the "Karnáta des" in the south.

32. Pi'pa' Judh. 72k.

33. Indra'vati Vya'h. 70k. Also called "Samar Si Rájá."

33. (34) Indra'vati Vya'h. 60k. A second book with the same name as the preceding, but with separate heading and ending.

34. (35) Jait Rao Judh. 36k. The Sultán surprises Prithiráj while hunting; Jait Rao seizes him (they are always doing this).

35. (36) Ka'ngura'. 32k. Prithiraj takes the hill fort of Kángurá (Kángṛá ?)

36. (37) Hansa'vati Vya'h. 155k. Marriage with Hansávati.

37. (38) Pa'har Ra'i. 71k.

38. (39) Barun Katha'. 33k.

39. (40) Somesar badh. 88k. Death of Somesar, Prithiráj's father, (killed by Bholá Bhím of Gujarát).

40. (41) Pajjun chhonga'na'. 17k.

41. (42) Pajjun chalukya. 29k.

42. (43) Chand Dwa'rika'. 59k. Chand's pilgrimage to Dwáriká.

43. (44) Kaima's Judh. 79k. Kaimás, one of Prithiráj's generals, seizes the Sultán in the Khaṭṭu forest.

44. (45) Bhi'm Badh. 118k. Prithiráj kills Bholá Rái Bhimang, the Chalukya Rájá of Gujarát, who had killed his father Somesar.

45. (46) Vinaya Mangal. 188k. In two parts. 1st of 142 kavitts, relates the previous birth of Sanyogita. 2nd in 86k. her penance.

46. (47) Suk varnan. 78k.

47. (48) Ba'luka' Rai. 119k.

48. (49) Panga Jagya vidhwansa. 20k.

49. (50) Sanjogita nem. Sanjogitá's vow to marry Prithiráj.

50 (51) Hansi Judh. 203k. In two parts, 1st, *pratham judh,* 90k.; 2nd, *dwitiyajudh,* 113k.

51. (52) Pajju'n mahuba. 23k.

52. (53) **Pajjun Pa'tisa'h Judh.** 34k. Sultán gets caught again for the twentieth time or so; as he is always released again, it does not much matter.

53. (54) **Sa'mant Panga Judh.** 25k.

54. (55) **Samar Panga Judh.** 62k. Fight of Jaichand Rao with Samar Si.

55. (56) **Kaima's Badh.** 186k. Death of Kaimás.

56. (57) **Durga' Keda'r.** 168k. Sultán gets taken again.

57. (58) **Dilli varnan.** 17k.

58. (59) **Jangam Katha'.** 7k. At end "jangam sophi kathá."

59. (60) **Kanavajja Judh.** 1455 kavitts. Prithiráj's war with Rájá Jay Chand of Kanauj. The longest book in the whole poem, 121 quarto pages.

60. (61) **S'uk charitra.** 102k. Interlude.

61. (62) **Akhhet chakh s'ra'p.** 118k.

62. (63) **Dhi'r Pundi'r.** 312k. Exploits of Dhír, the Pundír; takes the Sultán again, and again lets him go—for the last time.

63. (64) **Bibah Samyo.** 3k. List of Prithiráj's wives.

64. (65) **Bari' lara'i.** 937k. The great battle in which Prithiráj was taken.

65. (66) **Ba'n bedh.** 363k. Events following the battle. Chand's search for Prithiráj. Conversation with the Sultán. Death of Prithiráj (I have not read the book through, but there seem to be many historical facts in it. It is worth special attention. I think I make out that Chand goes to Ghazní to seek for Prithiráj, but am not sure without fuller perusal.)

66. (67) **Rayan Si.** 116k. Náráyan Singh (familiarly Rayan Si), son of Prithiráj is duly crowned king, but is soon after killed, and Dilli sacked and everything comes to an end.

67. (68) 3k. Three supplementary kavitts about the poem itself.

68. (69) **Birbhadra.** 8k. A short supplementary chapter.

The full number of 69 books is made up by counting the two parts of book 33 separately as 33 and 34. I have indicated this method of counting by the figures in brackets.

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. III.—1872.

The Buddhistic Remains of Bihár.—By A. M. Broadley, Esq., C. S.

I. Biha'r in Patna.

General Cunningham in speaking of and describing the kingdom of Magadha writes as follows:* "As this country was the scene of Buddha's early career, as a religious reformer, *it possesses a greater number of holy places connected with Buddhism than any other province of India.* The chief places are Buddha-Gaya, Kukkutapáda, Rájagriha, Kuságárapura, Nálandá, Indrasilaguha, and the Kapotaka monastery." Of these seven places, no less than five are situated within the boundary of the sub-division Bihár, which forms a large section of the Patna Zil'ah.

The word Bihár has in turn served to designate several artificial divisions of this part of India. The name originally belonged to the ancient city, which from its far-famed seat of Buddhistic learning was distinguished by the name 'Bihár' [Sanscrit, विहार]. The Muhammadan conquerors of the city extended its name to the surrounding country, of which it became the capital; and at the time of Akbar it came to signify that important portion of Eastern India comprised in the seven sirkárs of Munger, Champáran, Hájípúr, Sáran, Tirhut, Rohtás, and Bihár. This was Súbah Bihár. Under British rule, Súbah Bihár and Súbah Bengal were united under a joint government, while the Zil'ah, surrounding the capital and which bore its name, was divided into Zil'ah Patna and Zil'ah Gayá. In 1864, the important parganahs of Bihár and Rájgir were detached from the jurisdiction of Gayá, and, together with the parganahs of Tillárah, Pillich, and Biswak, formed into a sub-division, bearing the name of Bihár and within the

* 'Ancient Geography of India,' Vol. I, p. 455.

jurisdiction of Zil'ah Patna. Súbah Bihár, for more than a century, has ceased to exist except in name. Zil'ah Bihár has now disappeared from the map of India, and the name can now only as a matter of fact be properly applied to the ancient Muhammadan capital, founded by Bakhtyár Khilji, and the five surrounding parganahs of which it is still the chief town.

The tract of country about which I shall have to speak, extends for about thirty-five miles from north to south, and forty from east to west. With the exception of the solitary mountain rock of Bihár, the country presents an almost unbroken plain, sloping gradually from the foot of the Rájagriha Hills (which form the southern boundary of the sub-division) down to the banks of the Ganges. The greater part of this tract of country is singularly fertile, being watered by various streams which descend from the southern hills to join the Ganges below Patna. The Panchani River enters Bihár almost under the shade of the Indra-Sailapeak at Giryak, and flows south-west till it reaches the ancient city. At this point several branches of it intersect the various 'mahallahs' of the town, while the main course of the river still flows to the north, and enters the Ganges near Báṛh, the chief station of a Sub-Division bearing that name, which lies between Bihár and the banks of "the sacred stream." The Panchaní was once an important river. Vast sandy wastes, on either side of it, now only serve to indicate the extent of its original channel. In the summer months, the bed of the river is almost wholly dry. Not only has the current itself almost ceased to flow, but what remains of it, is almost entirely carried away into a large hollow, or "pyne" (پاين), four miles south of Bihár, in consequence of a large sand bed having formed a few miles below the town. The silting-up of this sand-bank has altered the whole appearance of the city. In exploring its outskirts, the eye often lights on a spacious bridge now spanning a rice field or a piece of waste-land, and on ruined gháṭs, which now only serve to bound a scorching expanse of arid sand.

The archæological and historical interest of this narrow tract of country may be almost said to be unrivalled. It was in the midst of the rugged range of hills, which forms its southern boundary, that once flourished the mighty Kuságárapura, the metropolis of Magadha; outside its western walls, in the dark "Valley of the Five Hills," [the Raṉbhúm of to-day] was fought a great battle mentioned in the Mahábhárata. Here also Sákhya Muni—still the "Adorable Lord" of three hundred millions of men—spent a great portion of his life. Almost within a stone's throw of the northern foot of the hills are still to be seen the stately remains of New Rájagriha—Rájagriharapura—the capital of Ajáta Satru, son of Bimbisára, the contemporary of Buddha. In the plain itself lie the ruins of "our holy mother Nálandá," the gorgeous Queen of Buddhistic convents, and of the less important monasteries of Tillárah, Titráwan, Ghosráwan, and Hurugáwan. Still further

north of these places lies Bihár, once the academia, or vihára, of the country south of the Ganges, and still later the metropolis of the Muhammadan lieutenants, who sometimes ruled this garden of India as the delegates of the emperor of Dihlí, sometimes of the kings of Bengal.

On the 15th March, 1871, I took charge of the Sub-Division of Bihár, and ever since that time, have devoted such of my leisure as I could spare from my official duties, to the examination of the antiquities of the country, be they Muhammedan, Hindú, or Buddhistic; but in the following pages I speak only of the last; the others will, I trust, one day form the subject of separate papers. The ruins of the Náland́á monasteries have been described in a separate pamphlet, and I therefore barely allude to them here.

II. Ancient Magadha.

The name of the ancient kingdom of Magadha dates as far back as the time of the Mahábhárata. In the map of India, which illustrates Mr. Talboy Wheeler's History of these remote times, the territories of Magadha are shewn to the south of the river Ganges, bounded on one side by Mithilá and on the other by Banga, or Bengal. In the pages of the great Sanskrit epic, an account is given of the wars of Bhima and Krishna with Jarásandha, king of Magadha; but I merely allude to it here, because I propose to write exclusively of a much more recent period in the history of India. I shall, however, from time to time be compelled to make some allusion to the great Asura king, whose history is inseparably associated by the traditions of the people with the places about which I propose to write.

Passing over a number of centuries, we come to the time when Chi-Fah-Hiyan left his home at Tchang'au in China, to "follow the footsteps" of the great sage of Magadha, whose teaching, nigh a thousand years before, had caused a new religion to spead itself with wonderful rapidity over the greater part of the continent of Asia.*

* The travels of Chi-Fah-Hiyan were first translated into French by MM. Remusat, Klaproth, and Landresse. An English version of this work was published by Mr. Laidlay, in Calcutta, in 1848. In 1869, the Rev. S. Beal published an original translation from the Chinese text. Great doubts are entertained as to the correctness of portions of the French work, and M. Julien points out that it cannot be safely used by persons unable to verify the translation by comparison with the original. Under these circumstances I make reference only to the edition of Mr. Beal.

Throughout Fah-Hian's work, distances are computed by 'lis' and 'yojanas.' Mr. Beal allows four or five lis to the mile, General Cunningham six, and this estimate is doubtless correct. As to the second measure, Mr. Beal allows seven miles to a yojana in the North-West Provinces, and only four in Magadha. General Cunningham counts *uniformly* 7½ or 8 miles as equal to a yojana. From a comparison of the distances given in Bihár, *the very centre of the kingdom of Magadha,* I do not see how more than five or six miles can, by any possibility, be allowed, *e. g.*, Bihár to Náland́á, one yojaná, actual distance 5½ or 6 miles; Patna to Bihár, 9

In the pages of the account which he wrote of his Indian travels, Magadha has a prominent place, no less than four chapters being occupied in the relation of his wanderings in that kingdom.* Before retracing our steps to the time of Sákhya Muni himself, I must say something of another great traveller, who, two centuries later, passed over very nearly the same route as his predecessor. On the 1st August, 629, A. D. Hwen Thsang left his home at Liang-cheu, on a similar errand to that of Chi-Fah-Hiyan,† and it is not till A. D. 644 that he again arrives in the frontiers of his native land. According to the computation of General Cunningham, he reached Magadha on February 10th, 637, and remained there till January, A. D. 639. It also appears that he revisited it during the spring of A. D. 642. The Buddhist pilgrim has bequeathed to posterity an account of his travels, and of the places and people he visited, the historical and archæological value of which it is impossible to overrate. It is much to be regretted, that no carefully annotated English translation has as yet been prepared of these invaluable records. In this instance the French have gone before us, and it is to M. Stanislaus Julien that the world is indebted for its knowledge of the history, geography, and antiquities of India during the 7th century of our era. This eminent scholar has published two entirely distinct works on the subject, and for reasons which I shall presently state, I deem it best to give the title of them in full.

The first appeared in 1853. It is entitled "Historie de la vie de Hiouen Thsang et de ses voyages dans l'Hinde depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645, par Hoei-li et Yen-Thsang, suivie de documents et d'éclaircissements géographiques tirés de la relation originale de Hiouen Thsang, traduite de Chinois par Stanislaus Julien." The second was published at Paris five years later, and bears the title "Mémoires sur les contrées occidentales, traduit du Sanscrit en Chinois en l'an 648 par Hiouen Thsang, et du Chinois en Francais par M. Stanislaus Julien. Paris 1857."‡

yojanas, actual distance about 54 miles; Nálandá to Rájgir, one yojana, actual distance, 5½ or 6 miles. For these reasons I consider a yojana as equivalent to a distance of between 5 and 6 miles.

* Beal's 'Fah-Hiyan,' pp. 102-119.

† Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography of India,' p. 563.

‡ The following will shew the discrepancies between both editions, as far as Magadha is concerned—

I.—"*Histoire de la vie de Hiouen Thsang,*" 1853.

From	*To*	*Distance*	*Direction*
Pátaliputra	Tilaçakya	7 Y.	S. W.
Tilaçakya	Bodhidrouma	100 L.	S.
Bodhidrouma	Nálandá	7 Y.	?
Nálandá	Rájgriha	?	?
Rájgriha	Indrasaila guha	30 L.	E.
Indrasaila guha	Nálandá	?	?

It would be impossible to overrate the vast importance of these records, and the travels of Fah-Hiyan and Hwen Thsang will form as it were the basis of my attempt to describe the Buddhistic remains of this part of the kingdom of Magadha. We can now go back to the time of the great founder of the Buddhist faith, and see how deeply connected Magadha was with many of the most important episodes in his life.

Buddhism arose in India about the beginning of the sixth century before Christ. Its founder was Sákhya Muni, son of Suddhodana, ruler of the country of Kapila, which appears to have been situated some distance to the north of Banáras. The tenets of his religion may be shortly summed up as follows.* I.—That man may become superior to the gods. II.—That Nirvána† is the supreme good. III.—That religion consists in a right preparation of the heart (suppression of evil desire, practice of self-

II.—"Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," 1857.

From	*To*	*Distance*	*Direction*
Pátaliputra	Tilaçakya.	100 L.	S. W.
Tilaçakya	Gunamati Mt.	90 L.	S. W.
Gunamati convent	Silabhadra convent on isolated hill.	20 L.	S. W.
Convent of Silabhadra	Gayá.	40 L.	S. W.
Gayá.	Kukkutapáda M.	100 L.	E.
Kukkutapáda M.	Buddhavana M.	100 L.	N. E.
Buddhavana M.	Yachtivana Forest.	30 L.	E.
Yachtivana Forest	Sources Thermales.	10 L.	S.W.
Yachtivana Forest	A mountain.	7 L.	S E.
This mountain	Another.	3 or 4 L.	N.
This one	A third.	4 or 5 L.	N.E.
This mountain	Kouçágárapura (old Rájgir)	16 L.	E.
Rájgriha	Nálanda.	30 L.	N
Nálandá	Kulika.	9 L.	S.W.
Kulika	Kalapinàka.	20 L.	S.E.
Kalapinàka	Indra saila gouha.	30 L.	E.
Indra saila gouha	Kapotika Sanghàráma.	150-61 L.	N.E.
Kapotika-Sanghàráma	A monastery.	40 L.	S.E.
This monastery	A village south of the Ganges.	70 L.	N.E.

It would be an almost endless task to attempt to point out the discrepancies which exist between these two accounts, much more so to convey a satisfactory explanation of them, but I have stated them in the onset to shew the extreme difficulty of a satisfactory or positively correct identification of the places alluded to, and to demonstrate how little we can trust the distances and directions which form the only data on which we can rely.

* Beal, Introduction, p. 49.

† *I. e.*, exemption from sorrow, complete unconsciousness of, and indifference to, external objects.

denial, active benevolence). IV.—That men of all castes and women may enjoy the benefits of a religious life.

The religion, of which these are the principles, spread from the mountain solitudes of the Rájgir Hills to the remotest parts of Eastern Asia, and is at the present day professed by no less than three hundred millions of human beings. I have not the slightest intention to dwell even for a moment on the details of the Buddhist creed, which have been so eloquently and clearly explained and illustrated by Messrs. Beal, Alabaster, and Bishop Bigandet, and shall only allude to them again when I come to speak of the causes of the ultimate decay and overthrow of the Buddhist faith in Hindústán.

All writers who have attempted to gather together the half historical, half mythical, facts connected with the life of the great sage of Magadha, have agreed in naming Rájgir and Nálandá as the scene of many of the episodes of his history.

It appears that at the very commencement of his religious career, he was attracted by the wild mountain solitudes which surrounded the Magadha capital. Alabaster, in his translation of the Siamese Life of Buddha,* gives the following poetical account of his arrival at Rájagriha. 'He entered the city, and visited each house he came to, that he might receive alms. Astounded at his beauty, the people crowded round him, wondering who it might be. Some said, "Surely it is the moon flowing from the Rávanáso Asura Rahu, how else can we account for his radiant glory?" Others made other guesses, and they could come to no conclusion. So they went and told the king Bimbisára, king of Rájagriha, that there was a being in the city whose beauty made them doubt whether he were not an angel. Then the king, looking from a window of the palace, saw him, and, filled with astonishment, gave orders to ascertain who he might be, saying, "Follow him! If he is not a human being, when he leaves the city, he will disappear; if he is an angel, he will fly through the air; if a snake king, he will sink into the earth; but if a man, he will remain and eat his food."

'The grand being that was approaching the Buddhaship, calmly continued his work, regarding but the small space of earth close around him; and having collected sufficient food, he left the city by the same gate he had entered it.

'He passed on to the Banthawa Hills, and sitting down on the summit of a lofty rock, he looked at the food collected in his pan.

'He—who had ever been accustomed to the most dainty meats, the most refined delicacies—looked at the mixed mess in his pot and loathed it; he could scarcely swallow it. Yet even this caused no wish to return to his city and his palace.

* P. 135.

'He reflected on the foulness of his own body, and ate without further aversion. He finished his meal, rinsed his mouth, washed his pan, and replaced it in his wallet, and seated himself in a position of contemplation on the rocky clift.

'Then the officers who had been set to watch him, returned and told king Bimbisára that he was certainly a man; and the king desiring to converse with him, called for his royal palankeen, and attended by a great train of noblemen and soldiers, went forth to seek him at the Banthawa Hills.

'Sitting on a rocky slab, the king gazed with delight at the grand being, and observed the grace of his manners and thus addressed him:

" Man of beauty, whence comest thou?"

'Most excellent lord, I come from the country of Sákya.'

" From what Sákya country?"

'From the royal city, Kapila.'

'The king continued to question him as to his caste, family, and name, and was informed in answer, that he was of the royal race (caste) of the Sákyas, the son of king Suddhodana and named Siddhártha.

'Now king Bimbisára and the prince Siddhártha were on most friendly terms. Though they had never met, and did not know each other by sight, they were in the constant habit of exchanging presents as tokens of good will, and when the grand being announced his name, the king was assured, beyond all doubt, by his admirable manners and language, that it was none other than his friend.

'He reflected that perhaps the prince had fled from his country on account of some family quarrel, and under that impression, he invited him to share his power—to rule over half the great country of Magadha. Then the grand being told him the reasons, the object for which he had resigned the empire of the world. He told him of the four sights which had influenced his thoughts, and of his determination to achieve the omniscient Buddhahood. And the king having obtained from him a promise that after the attainment of omniscience, he would first teach in Rájagriha, did homage, and returned to his city.'

In Dr. Bigandet's Life of the Burmese Buddha, we find a great deal more allusion made to Rájgir than in Mr. Alabaster's translation from the Siamese.* He tells us that Buddha set out for Rájgir [Radzagio], and halted in a grove of palm trees a short distance from the city, where he was met by Bimbisára [Pimpattara] at the head of 120,000 warriors, to whom he delivered a religious discourse. Next day he made a triumphal entry into Rájgir. "Then Pimpattara, king of Magaritz [Magadha], thought within himself of the thing which could prove acceptable to Phra, in order to offer it to him. He said within himself: my garden, which is situated

* P. 101, etc.

near the city, would doubtless be a very fit place for Buddha and his followers to live in, as it lies not far from the city; it would be a place of easy resort to all those who would feel inclined to visit Buddha and pay him their respect; it is moreover far enough, that the noise and cries of the people could not be heard therein; the place is peculiarly fitted for retreat and contemplation; it will assuredly prove agreeable to Buddha. Whereupon he rose up, and holding in his hand a golden shell, like a cup, he made to Phra a solemn offering of that garden, which was called Weluwana. Gaudama remained silent in token of his acceptance of the gift. He preached the law and left the palace. At that time he called his disciples and said to them, "Beloved Rahans, I give you permission to receive offerings."

He next proceeds to recount the conversion from schism of Sáriputra [Thariputra] and Mogalan [Mankalan], who subsequently became the chief disciples of Buddha. After this event, Buddha continues to preach, teach at the Kalandavanonvana Vihára,* but at last yields to the frequent messages of his royal father and returns to Kapila.† The next chapter, however, is devoted to legends connected with his three years' stay at Rájagriha, *i. e.*, the dedication of the Dzetawoon [?] monastery, the miraculous cure of Djvika, and the avarice of Mogalan. In the succeeding chapter we learn that Buddha spent the 11th season of his religious life at Nálandá, and 17th and 20th again at Rájagriha. After this Sáriputra set out for his native place Nálandá, to enter into that state of unconsciousness—the much-longed for Nirvána—which formed the consummation of religious life. I quote Bigandet's translation of this part of the biography, as a specimen of Buddhist writing, and as peculiarly interesting on account of its close connection with the ruins of the great Nálandá monastery.

'It was little before dark when the great Rahan arrived at the entrance of the Nalaka village. He went to rest at the foot of a banian tree close to that spot. At that time there came a young man, his nephew, named Ooparewata, who perceiving Thariputra bowed down before him and stood in that place. The great Rahan said to him: "Is your grandmother at home?" Having been answered in the affirmative, he continued addressing him: "Go now to her and tell her to prepare for me the room wherein I was born, and a place for these five hundred Rahans that accompany me. I will stay for a while in the village, and will go to her house, but this evening. The lad went in all haste to his grandmother's house and said to her: "My uncle is come, and is staying at the entrance of the village." "Is he alone,"

* Beal, p. 117, note. Although he states the monastry to be called in Singalese (as in Burmese) Weluwana, he supposes it to have been the gift of a rich landowner, Kalanda. The Burmese text, however, states distinctly that it was the religious gift of Buddha.

† Bigandet, p. 120.

inquired the grandmother, " or has he with him a numerous retinue? For what purpose is he coming here?" The young man related to her all the particulars of his interview with his uncle. Nupathari, the mother of Tháriputra, thought within her self: perhaps my son who has been a Rahan from his youth, desires in his old age to leave his profession. She, however, gave orders to have the desired room cleaned, and a place prepared for all his attendants.

'In the evening the great disciple went to his mother's house with all his followers. He ascended to the room prepared for him and rested therein. He bade all the Rahans to withdraw and leave him alone. They had scarcely departed when a most violent disease seized Tháriputra, which caused an abundant vomiting of blood, so great indeed, that the vessel wherein it flowed could not hold it. His mother, at the sight of such an awful distemper, did not dare to approach, but with a broken heart retired into her own room, leaning against the door. At that time four great Náts, a Thágiá, their chief, and four Bráhmas came to see him, and to minister unto him, during his painful illness, but he bade them retire. His mother seeing the coming in and going out of so many distinguished visitors, and the respect they paid to her son, drew near to the door of his room and calling the faithful Tsanda, inquired from him wherefore so many distinguished individuals had come. Tsanda explained to her that the great Náts, the chief of Thágiás, had come to visit and assist her son, and enjoy the presence of the great Rahan.

'Meanwhile he informed the patient that his mother wished to see him. Tháriputra replied that the moment was not a proper one, and asked from his mother the motive of her untimely visit. " Beloved son," said she, " I am come here to contemplate your ever dear countenance. But who are they, those that have just come to see you?" Tháriputra explained to her how he had been visited by Náts, Thágiás, and Bráhmas. His mother inquiring from him if he were greater than any one of these, he hesitatingly replied that he was more excellent than any of them. His mother thought within herself: if my son be so exalted, how much more must Buddha be. Her heart was then overflowed with the purest joy.

'Tháriputra rightly understood that the moment had come to preach the law to his mother. He said to her: " Woman, at the time my great teacher was born, when he obtained the supreme intelligence and preached the most excellent law, a great earthquake was felt throughout ten thousand worlds. No one has ever equalled him in the practice of virtue, in understanding, wisdom, and in the knowledge of, and the affection for, the transcendent excellencies of the state of a rahat." He then went on explaining to her the law and many particulars relating to the person of Buddha. " Beloved son," said his mother, delighted with all that she heard, " why have you

been so late in acquainting me with such a perfect law?" At the conclusion of the instruction, she attained the state of Thantapam. Tháriputra replied: "Now, woman, I have repaid you for all the labours you have bestowed on me in bearing, nursing, and educating me; depart from me and leave me alone."

'Tháriputra inquired from the devoted Tsanda whether the moment had come. Having been informed that is was daylight, he requested to be set up. By his order all the Rahans were called to his presence, and he said to them, "During the last forty-four years you have ever been with me; should I have offended any one during all that time I beg to be pardoned." The Rahans answered him:—"Great teacher, we have lived with you during the last forty years, and have been your inseparable attendants, following you everywhere, as the shadow follows the body. We have never experienced the least dissatisfaction from your part, but we have to request your forbearance and pardon for ourselves."

'It was on the evening of the full moon Satsaongmon (November) that Tháriputra went to his mother's place, and laid in the room wherein he had been born. During the night he was attacked with the most distressing distemper. In the morning at daylight, he was habited with his tsiwaran and made to lie on his right side. He entered into a sort of ecstacy, passed successively from the first state of Dzán to the second, third, and fourth, and thence dived into the bottomless state of Nibán, which is the complete exemption from the influence of passion and matter.'

After the death of Buddha, his relics were brought to Rájgir and buried there by the reigning prince. The following account of their reception at the capital of Magadha is given in Bishop Bigandet's translation of the Burmese life of Buddha.* 'King Adzátathat ordered a beautiful and well levelled road, eight oothabas broad, to be made from the city of Kuthinaran to that of Rádzagio. The distance is twenty-five youdzanas. He wished to adorn it, in all its length, in the same manner as the Malla princes had done for the road leading from the place that had been decorated with all sorts of ornaments, to that where the relics had been deposited. At fixed and proper distances, houses were built for resting and spending the night. The king attended by a countless crowd of people, went to take the relics and carry them into his country. During the journey, singing, dancing, and playing of musical instruments went on uninterrupted. Offerings of perfumes and flowers were incessantly made by the people. At certain intervals, they stopped during seven days, when fresh honors were paid to the relics, in the midst of the greatest rejoicings. In this manner, seven months, and seven days were employed in going over the distance between the two countries. At Radzagio, the relics were deposited in a place prepared for that purpose, and a dzedi was erected on them. The seven other kings built also dzedis

* P. 212-14.

over the relics they had obtained. Daima built one, too, over the golden vessel, and the Mauria kings erected likewise one religious monument over the coals. Thus there were at that time ten dzedis.

'When this was all over, the great Kathaba fearing yet for the safety of the precious relics, went to king Adzátathat and said to him that precautions were to be taken for securing the preservation of the relics. The king asked him by what means all the relics could be had from those who had obtained them. Kathaba replied that he would know how to manage such a delicate affair. He went to the seven kings who gave to him all the principal relics, keeping by themselves only what was strictly necessary to be deemed an object of worship and goodwill towards Buddha's person. One exception was made in favour of the relics deposited in the village of Rama, because they were, in future times, to be carried to Ceylon and placed in the great Wira or Pagoda. All the relics having been brought to Radzagio, Kathaba took with him the relics and went out of the city. He directed his steps in a south-east direction, loaded with this precious burthen, which he carried all the way. Having reached a certain spot, he made the following prayer: "May all the rocks and stones of this place disappear, and there be in place thereof a fine sandy desert or soil; may water never issue from this spot." Adzátathat ordered the soil to be dug very deep; with the earth, bricks were made and eight dzedis were built. The depth of the hole was eighty cubits. Its bottom was lined with iron bars. To that bottom was lowered a monastery made of bars, similar in shape and proportion to the great Wira of Ceylon. Six gold boxes containing the precious relics were placed in this monastery. Each box was enclosed in one of silver, the latter in one adorned with precious stones, and so on, until eight boxes were placed in the other. There also were arranged 550 statues, representing Buddha in 550 preceding existences, described in the sacred writings, the statues of the 80 great disciples, with those of Thudandana and Maia. There also were arranged 500 lamps of gold and 500 lamps of silver, filled with the most fragrant oil, with wicks made of the richest cloth. The great Kathaba taking a leaf of gold, wrote upon it the following words:—"In after times, a young man named Pradatha shall ascend the throne, and become a great and renowned monarch under the name of Athanka. Through him, the relics shall be spread all over the island of Dzapondeba." King Adzátathat made new offerings of flowers and perfumes. All the doors of the monastery were shut and fastened with an iron bolt. Near the last door, he placed a large ruby upon which the following words were written:—'Let the poor king who shall find this ruby, present it to the relics.' A Thágiá ordered a Nát to watch over the precious deposit. The Nát disposed around it figures the most hideous and terrifying, armed with swords. The whole was encompassed by six walls made of stones and bricks; a large slab of stone, covered the upper part and upon it he built a small dzedi.'

At the time of Buddha's death Ajátasatru, the son of Bimbisára, was reigning in Rájgir. According to Hwen Thsang he had transferred his capital from the old city in the valley of the five hills, which, as the Burmese writer expresses it, " surrounded it like a cow-pen, to a new town in the open plain just outside the ravine which led to the metropolis of his forefathers." The translator of the Life of Hwen Thsang* gives the following account of the circumstance which led to the change alluded to.

'Dans l'origine, lorsque le roi Pin-pi-so-lo (Bimbisárá) résidait dans la ville Chaug-maokong-tch'ing (Kouçágárapoura), la population était fort nombreuse, et les habitations, pressées les unes contre les autres, eurent souvent à souffrir des ravages du feu. Le roi rendit alors un décret qui menaçait ceux qui faute d'attention et de vigilance, laisseraient prendre le feu dans leur maison, de les transférer dans la Forêt froide (Côtavana). Dans ce royaume on appelle ainsi un lieu abhorré où l'on jette les cadavres Cmacanam, (un cimetière). Mais peu de temps après, le feu prit dans le palais. Le roi dit alors : " Je suis le maître des hommes ; si je viole moi-même mes propres décrets, je n'aurai plus le droit de réprimer les écarts des mes sujets."

'Le roi ordonna alors au prince royal de rester à sa place, et alla demeurer dans la Forêt froide (c'est-à-dire dans le cimetière). Pendant ce temps-là, le roi de Fei-che-li (Vaiçalí), ayant appris que Pin-pi-so-lo (Bimbisára) habitait en dehors de la ville, dans une plaine déserte, voulut lever des troupes, pour s'emparer de lui par surprise.

'Les officiers placés au loin en observation en ayant été informés firent un rapport au roi, qui construisit alors une ville fortifiée. Comme le roi avait commencé à habiter dans cet endroit, on l'appela pour cette raison Wang-che-tch'ing (Rádjagriha-poura) ; c'était précisément la ville nouvelle. Dans la suite le roi Che (Adjátaçatrou) lui ayant succédé, y établit sa cour. Elle continua à servir de résidence royale, jusquà l'époque où le roi Açoka, ayant transféré sa cour à Pet'oli (Páṭali-poutra), donna cette ville, on ne voit point d'hommes de diverses croyances ; il n'y a plus que des Bráhmanes, qui forment un millier de familles.'

After the death of the great founder of the Buddhistic faith, Kasyapa, on whose shoulder the mantle of the primacy seems to have descended, convened the first great council of monks who had attained the Rahatship, or highest degree of sanctity, in a hall facing the Sattapáni cave, which appears to have been situated in the northern shade of Mount Baibhár. Under the direction of the president, the whole canon of Sákhya Muni's teachings was recited. To the convening of this council Ajátasatru lent his aid. He is said to have gained the throne by staining his hands in his father's blood some years before the Nirvána of Buddha, and to have subsequently extended his dominions to Kapila, Kosali, and Wesali. Any detailed ac-

* P. 159.

count of the proceedings of Mahá Kasyapa, and his sacred conclave, is quite beyond my province, but I may incidentally mention that both Fah Hiyan and Hwen Thsang say something on the subject.

New Rájgir seems to have enjoyed a brief existence as the capital of Magadha; for a century later, Asoka appears to have transferred the seat of government to Pátali, a town clearly identical with the Palibothra of the Greeks and the modern Patna of the Hindús and 'Azímábád of the Muhammadans.

I have not endeavoured in the foregoing pages to write a connected history of Buddha's life in Rájgir, or to give a complete account of the rulers of that city; but my object has been simply to show the intimate connection of the Maghada of those days, and the Bihár of the present, with the earliest days of the Buddhistic faith. This connection once established and shewn, the extreme interest and importance of the Buddhist remains of this part of the country becomes apparent. They are important to the historian as throwing light on annals of a remote period, and still more important to the archæologist as illustrating the manners and customs, the costume and ceremonies of another age, and as throwing light on the details of a religion which has passed to other climes. Whatever historical incidents remain untouched, I shall speak of when I come to write of the places with which they are connected, of Tillárah and Bihár, of Ghosráwan, Titráwan, and the Indra-Saila Hill.

III. Buddhist Remains.

The relics of Buddhism still existing in Bihár may be divided into five groups:—(1) Ruins of Temples. (2) Those of Monasteries, or Viháras. (3) Votive Stúpas. (4) Figures and sculptures. (5) Inscriptions.

First.—The temples seem to have varied in size and splendour at different epochs in the history of the religion to which they belong. Amongst the earlier temples are those of Rájgir, Dápthú, and the Indra-Saila peak, and amongst the more modern, those of Bargáon. The most ancient of the temples are remarkable for the extreme simplicity of their construction. They usually consisted of an outer court, varying in size from fifteen to twenty-five feet, the walls of which were composed of enormous bricks of rare solidity. The roof of the building was generally nine or ten feet high, sometimes more, sometimes less, and consisted of slabs of granite or other stone, placed close to each other, and supported by pillars of the same material. The capitals of the pillars were generally separate from the shaft, and of such size and form as to render the weight of the roof less difficult to sustain. Their shape was generally either cruciform or oblong. This court generally led to an inner chamber or shrine, smaller and less lofty than the vestibule, but of similar shape and construction. In the centre of this is generally to be found the figure of Buddha. Carvings were often arranged round the walls of

the outer appartment, but apparently merely for the purpose of ornament. The roof was generally covered with brick and probably surmounted by a low cupola or turret of the same material. The lintels, &c., of the doorway were generally composed of basalt slabs, rudely carved with a bold geometrical pattern, having one or more figures of Buddha in the centre. The brick work appears uniformly to have been plain, but remarkably uniform, the outside edges being reduced to a level by the chisel. As an illustration of the older type of Buddhist temple I may mention the large one discovered by me in the side of the Baibhár hill at Rájgir. A great number of the pillars are *literally imbedded in the brickwork of the wall.* This feature is also observable in the excavated building at the Nirmal-kuṇḍ, and the series of temples at Dápthú. The more modern temples present a striking contrast to the more ancient ones. The walls of these buildings were adorned with the most exquisitely moulded brick work ; the façade was lavishly ornamented with pillared vestibules, and the richest sculptures which art could produce ; the roof was crowned with a majestic spire or cupola abounding in profuse decoration in brick, plaster, and basalt ; and the doors and windows were surrounded with bands of lace-like carving. The excavated temple at Bargáọn affords a striking example of the religious architecture of the Buddhists from 450 A. D. to 900 A. D. I extract a description of it from the pamphlet I have already written on the subject.

'Raised a few feet above the plain was an evenly paved court, as near as possible one hundred feet square. This court was surrounded by halls and buildings of every description on all sides except the eastern, and these doubtless served as the dwelling-places, refectory, &c., of the recluses of the convent. In the centre of the court rose an enormous temple, eighty feet long at the base on each side, and consisting of a series of several stories tapering to a point, each about fourteen feet above the other. The main fabric was composed of enormous bricks, each about one foot three inches in length, three inches thick, and ten inches wide, placed so close together that the cement which joined them is barely visible. The first two stories of the building were uncovered, and are now almost as perfect as when Hwen Thsang saw them fourteen hundred years ago. In order to preserve every detail in describing this remarkable building, we will take it side by side. The great entrance was towards the east (a custom still observed in the construction of the Buddhist temples of Tibbat), and was faced by a terrace of stone fifty feet in length and composed of two rows of sandstone slabs, the first decorated by a simple triangle in the centre, the second carved with a very beautiful geometrical pattern. These stones vary in length from seven to three feet, and are as near as possible a foot square. In the centre of this terrace, which is about six feet in front of the main building, is a

flight of three steps exactly ten feet in length. The first court was of very considerable proportions, fifty feet by twenty-six, and was covered by a stone roof supported by a series of twelve large pillars. These columns rested first on a rough pedestal of unhewn stone which disappeared beneath the floor, and then on a cruciform base, also separate from the pillar itself, but joined to it by a stone plug six inches long, one end of which pierced the former, while the other was imbedded in the centre of the latter. Two of these pillars were recovered by me intact, and are of the most elaborate workmanship. The cruciform base measures three feet each way, and the four arms are uniformly carved with a curious pattern. The shaft itself is seven feet eight inches high, of which one foot nine inches are taken up in the capital. The upper half of this consists of a simple square, and the latter of an oval band of a rich lace-like pattern. The rest of the pillar, down to one foot ten inches of the lower end, where it again has a third base of oblong shape, is oval, having a circumference of three feet eight inches, and ornamented at regular distances by two bands of carving about twelve inches wide. Each band consists of two parts, the first exhibiting a row of flowers strongly resembling heraldic roses, and the second a series of gargoyle-like faces* which form a peculiar feature in Buddhist ornamentation, and which is employed and re-produced at every possible opportunity. On each side of this covered terrace, but several feet behind it, is an elaborate brick moulding, fourteen feet long and six and a half feet high, surmounted by a narrow terrace of the same material, approached on either side by three steps from the pillared court. This moulding has sixteen turns, and is of the most graceful appearance. On each side of the entrance court, and above the narrow terrace, the main wall is still standing ten feet high. On the west side of the court was the great entrance door, which was uncovered by me perfect, but was thrown down in my absence by the workmen, who imagined I wished to remove the whole edifice to Bihár. This doorway was of extraordinary beauty, and measured twenty feet across and more than twelve feet high. It was composed of a series of eighteen slabs, nine on each side, gradually lessening in height towards the centre, where they terminated in a narrow portal, hardly three feet wide, and surmounted by a heavy slab decorated with elaborate carving. The whole of this enormous mass of sculpture rested on three great stones, two and a half feet square and twenty-two feet in length. Each slab was joined to the next one by a strong iron clamp, and the upper portion of each was joined to the lower in the same manner. The first two stones on either side were devoid of all ornament and were placed nearly a foot behind the other slabs. The next pillar of the series (or rather what remained of it intact) was eight feet in height, twelve inches broad, and of enormous thickness. The first slab was of light brown

* See plate, Proceedings, Asiatic Society, Bengal, February, 1872, p. 32.

colour and of a soft and pliable nature, whereas this one resembled the hardest granite and presented a curious variety of appearance and colour. The base of it is plain, and above it is a grotesque kneeling figure with a long beard and hands uplifted, supporting a canopy, above which rises a long line of geometrical pattern. The third slab is of black basalt and is scarce four inches wide. It is taken up entirely by the representation of two enormous snakes, one twining round the other. The next stone is of the same material, and is of unusually elaborate workmanship. A winding stem of flowery pattern work covers its face, and from each side of it springs a lotus-like flower, which alternately forms the resting place of a mystic bird or elephant rampant. The fifth slab* is plain. The sixth pillar is ornamented at the base with a female figure eight inches high, from whose hands spring a winding branch of foliage and flowers which stretches to the top of the lintel. The seventh slab is a repetition of the third, and the eighth is of the same stone as the second, containing three large female figures, one above the other, each about one and a half feet high, and in the hands of each is seen a musical instrument similar in shape and size to the modern 'sitár.' The ninth stone has a simple beading, and is surmounted by a heavy slab covered with carving. The two last slabs of the series, together with the one which covers them, form the doorway which leads to the inner part of the temple. The magnificent gate led to the second hall, twelve feet wide and eighteen feet long; and on each side of this chamber were smaller octagonal rooms, from the western end of which a staircase lead to the terraces above. These were approached by narrow doors right and left of the great gateway. These rooms were evidently of great height, and were decorated by elaborately carved pannels of sandstone let into the brick-work. I have added a series of these to my own collection. One of these consists of a slab of Mirzápúr stone covered with the most elaborate design, the chief feature of which is two figures with arms and legs entwined. The colour of the stone is peculiarly beautiful. Another is of black basalt, and represents a large elephant, richly caparisoned, with a lotus flower in its mouth. Beyond this, one enters by another door an inner chamber twenty-two feet square, the walls of which are in their ruined state still fourteen feet high. This was doubtless the *sanctum sanctorum* of the building, and I discovered at its western end a headless Buddha four feet high, placed on a handsome 'singhásan,' or throne, of black basalt, and was divided into five compartments; the first on each side containing single figures, the next lions-couchant, and the one in the centre two devotees in the act of making an offering. The wall is eighteen feet thick on either side.'

* Its base contains an inscription. Bábú Rájendralála Mitra makes the date 'Sambat 856,' and Professor Rám Gopál Bhandakar 'the eleventh year of the reign of King Mahápála Deva.'

The higher stories and roofs have toppled over on the northern side, and from an examination of their remains, it is clear that the building consisted of at least five stories, surmounted by a spire or minaret, (not by a cupola,) at least two hundred feet high in all.

The excavation of the western side is the most perfect of all. The upper story is about sixty-three feet long, and is exactly twelve feet above the lower one, which is eleven feet wide. The wall of the high terrace is quite plain, decorated merely by a simple moulding about three feet from the base. The stories consist of solid brick, and not of chambers as I first imagined. This I ascertained by making a perforation six feet deep in its centre. Not quite in the centre of the building is an irregular protuberance, twenty-two feet wide and twenty-seven feet long. I at first imagined it to be a portico, but on closer examination, I think it must have been a mere support, built up to sustain the weight of the upper stories when they showed symptoms of decay; for on removing the great portion of it (December 5th and 6th) the pilasters, mouldings, and statues which decorate the wall of the lower terrace were found entire behind it. In fact this protuberance seems so singularly out of place, that I should have imagined it to have been a portion of the ruins of the upper stories, had not the existence of regular walls precluded the possibility of such being the case. The ornamentation of each of these sides consisted of a series of mouldings and niches filled with stucco figures of Buddha in various positions. After the removal of the protuberance above mentioned, the west side presented the following appearance. At the base a moulding of brick-work, five feet three inches high, having thirteen distinct turns. The moulding runs along the whole façade. After the first six feet, it recedes a foot and continues in the same line for eighteen feet, when it again advances a foot, and continues in that line for eight feet, when it again recedes to the former line, and so on. Above the moulding is a series of niches two feet ten inches wide and three feet three inches high. These niches are separated by pilasters about four feet six inches high. These pilasters have plain square bases, and a three-sided shaft, each shaft being somewhat semicircular in form, above this is a square moulded capital. Above the niches are projecting bosses of brick, lotus-shaped, protruding from the wall, and above these another moulding similar to that below. The niches are surmounted by *arches* of over-lapping brick, and each contained a figure in plaster. The original bricks are moulded with exquisite exactness, and present great variety of patterns; some of the pilaster bases, for instance, containing figures, &c., in different portions fitted together. The temple has evidently twice at least been covered by a coating of plaster moulded into different forms, but as a rule greatly inferior to the workmanship of the brick underneath. The southern side is precisely similar to the western. On the top of the terrace, which doubtless ran round the three

sides of the temple, was a verandah, and the sockets of the beams are still visible in the upper wall. The southern side still stands more than thirty feet high.

In order to get a more complete idea of the lofty cupola which doubtless once surmounted the temple of Baláditya, I have since cleared away a great part of the rubbish in the northern side of the temple, and have been thus enabled to design a restored elevation of the whole building. I have also procured an illustration of the great doorway, which is of the greatest archæological and architectural interest.

Although there was little variety in the Buddhist architect's design, it was peculiarly graceful and calculated to produce a pleasing and majestic effect. The gargoyle face, the almost endless repetition of the figure of Buddha, the quaint niches and the long lines of lotus leaves, formed a *tout ensemble* which Hindú art has never surpassed. Of the minor sculptures which decorated this and similar religious edifices, a full description will be given when I come to speak of the different localities in which they were found.

The pillars which formed one of the chief features, both in the buildings and in the monasteries, became more and more elaborate as knowledge and art increased.

Secondly.—The monasteries appear to have been quadrangles of brick buildings (similarly ornamented to the temples), and generally having a pagoda in the centre. According to Hwen Thsang's account, they must have been very magnificent. Little idea can be gained of the form, &c., by an inspection of the ruins; for the wood carvings and tiles have of course disappeared under the ravages of time. The monasteries were almost invariably situated in picturesque positions on the banks of ponds of the clearest water, and surrounded by groves of mangoe, baṛ, and pípal trees. They appear to have been generally built a short distance from the villages to which they belonged. Any further description is unnecessary, as I shall dwell very fully on all monasteries of Bihár, when I come to speak of them separately.

Thirdly.—*Votive Stúpas.* The subject of these most interesting monuments of the Buddhist faith has been clearly and briefly summarised by Herrn Schlagintweit.* He writes—"The ancient stúpas were originally meant as receptacles for relics of either the Buddhas or the Bodhisattvas, and the kings who encouraged the propagation of the Buddhist faith. But already in the early periods of Buddhism stúpas were constructed *ex voto* as symbolical substitutes for a tomb with a sacred relic, either for marking the spot where remarkable incidents in the sacred history had taken place, or for decorating the Viháras and temples. Their erection is considered as an act

* Buddhism in Thibet, p. 193.

of devotion and reverence paid to the Buddhas, and was recommended already in the ancient legends as a most meritorious work."

Few places in India are richer than Bihár in Buddhistic stúpas and chaityas; and I have ventured to classify them as follows:—

I.—Stúpas actually containing relics of Buddha or his disciples.

II.—Stúpas containing no relics, but built to mark the occurrence of some event memorable in the history of the faith.

III.—Stúpas and Chaityas purely votive, most of them serving as the repository of images.

IV.—Chaityas, or miniature stúpas, not built, but carved in one or more blocks of stone, and generally covered with ornamentions and figures of Buddha.

On the back of a figure of Buddha in the Titráwan ruins, I found a well-executed drawing of a stúpa which I append as an illustration. The form of the stúpa varied little, whatever class it belonged to. They seem to have been generally surmounted by a series of umbrellas. The large tope at Nálandá, and the tumuli to the west of the walls of Rájagriha belong undoubtedly to the first class; but their extreme antiquity (not less than 2200 years) makes it doubtful if any thing could be found there, to say nothing of the frequent removals and abstractions of the relics we read of. I have sunk a shaft in the second tumulus at Rájgir; but without success, the labourers cutting through a solid deposit of bricks to a depth of fifteen feet. The topes on the summits of the hills, on the contrary, are of the second class, and in all probability served to mark some of the most sacred episodes in the history of Sákhya Muni; *e. g.*, his sitting on the Bantháwan Hills with the bhikshu's bowl, etc., etc. The small topes discovered by me in the staircase or causeway leading to the Deogháṭ Hill, I imagine, served chiefly for the deposit of images of Tathágata. It will be seen that on opening one of them, I found three perfect figures, of equal size, differing only in position, imbedded in the ruins. The small chaityas vary in size, and were doubtless made to suit the purses of those whose means did not permit them to raise a lofty mass of brickwork "for the advancement of the highest knowledge amongst mankind." Some of them are circular, some octagonal, some twelve-sided, some oval; but nearly all of them are richly ornamented and bear several figures of Buddha. A very fine circular chaitya found by me at Kurkihár, the Kukkuṭapáda of Hwen Thsang, contains more than forty figures of Buddha, all carved with wonderful sharpness and delicacy. The chaityas which were composed of a number of pieces linked together, must have contained as many as 500. These chaityas were originally surmounted by umbrellas, which were formed very frequently of separate pieces of stone, often possibly of metal, fitted into the top of the carving. The Buddhist images contain numerous illustrations of these chaityas, and I have, in some

instances, counted as many as sixteen or twenty umbrellas, arranged one above the other. The chaityas vary in height from four inches to two feet. I have about twenty-five distinct varieties in my own collection. Buddhism has now-a-days disappeared even in tradition from the minds and recollection of the people of Bihár, and the dedicatory chaityas of the pious followers of Tathágata are commonly supposed to be nothing else than a different form of the sacred linga of the Hindús.

The question of stúpas is thus treated by Bishop Bigandet.* 'The religious edifices that are to be met with, in all parts of Burmah, deserve a particular notice. They are called 'dzedis' in all the Buddhist writings of the Burmese; but the people generally mention them by the appellation of Payas or Phras, which, in this instance, is merely an honorific title of a religious character.

'Dzedis, in the earliest days of Buddhism, were sacred tumuli, raised upon a shrine, wherein relics of Buddha had been deposited. These structures were as so many lofty witnesses, bearing evidence to the presence of a sacred and precious object, intended to revive in the memory of the faithful the remembrance of Buddha, and foster in their hearts tender feelings of devotion and a glowing fervour for his religion.

'From the perusal of this legend, it seems that dzedis were likewise erected on the tombs of individuals, who, during their lifetime, had obtained great distinction by their virtues and spiritual attainments among the members of the assembly. Buddha himself ordered that a monument should be built over the shrine containing the relics of the two great disciples, Tháriputra and Mankalan. In Burmah no dzedis of great dimensions and proportions have ever been erected on the ashes of distinguished phoungies. In some parts, however, particularly in the upper country, there may be seen here and there some small dzedis a few feet high, erected on the spot where have been deposited the remains of some saintly personage. These monuments are little noticed by the people, though on certain occasions, a few offerings of flowers, tapers, &c., are made around and in front of them. The same kind of religious edifices have been built sometimes also, to become a receptacle of the Pitagat, or collection of the holy scriptures. One of the finest temples of Ceylon was devoted to that purpose. There was also one in the ancient city of Ava, but I am not aware that there is any of this kind at Amarapúra.

'Finally, dzedis have been erected for the sole purpose of harbouring statues of Gaudama; but there is every reason to believe that this practice has gained ground in subsequent ages. When a fervent Buddhist, impelled by the desire of satisfying the cravings of his piety and devo-

* Life or Legend of the Buddha of the Burmese, p. 141.

tion, wished to build a religious monument and could not procure relics, he then remained contented with supplying the deficiency with images of Buddha, representing that eminent personage in some attitudes of body that were to remind Buddhists of some of the most striking actions of his life. In many instances, dzedis have been built up, not even for the sake of sheltering statues, but for the pious purpose of reminding the people of the holy relics of Buddha and, as they used to say, for kindling in the soul a tender feeling of affectionate reverence for the person of Buddha and his religion. If what is put forward as a plea for building pagodas be founded on conviction and truth, we must conclude that the inhabitants of the valley of the Irrawady are most devotedly religious, as the mania for building dzedis has been, and even now is, carried to such a pitch, as to render fabulously exaggerated the number of religious buildings to be seen on an extent of above 700 miles as far as Bhamo.'

Fourthly.—As to the next division of my subject—Buddhist figures—I shall say little here, reserving detailed descriptions of particular figures for future chapters. The principal figure of course is that of Buddha, who is found in every possible position, and in every possible variation of costume. The favourite type of the image of Buddha in Bihár, is one containing a large figure in the centre, seated on a lotus petal throne, surrounded by smaller images, and illustrating some famous episode in the Sage's life ; *e. g.*, Buddha with one hand uplifted, denoting his character as a teacher ; a similar figure in a sitting attitude, with one hand holding the alms bowl, the other hanging down over the knee, showing him to be plunged in meditation, and so forth. The hair of Buddha, when not covered by the jewelled crown, is generally in small tufts. This is not explained by Schlagintweit, but I take it to typify the following* incident in his life, which is supposed to have taken place at the time of his embracing the pursuit of a religious life. " He reflected that his long hair did not become the character of a poor ascetic, and he determined to have it cut off: But as no one was worthy to touch his head, he cut it off with his own sword, praying " May my hair, thus cut, be neat and even !" And by the force of his prayer, the hair parted evenly, leaving each hair about an inch and a half in length, and they curled in right-handed spirals, and never grew more to the last day of his life." To the left of the figure of Buddha is generally seen a delicately carved female figure, holding with one hand the branch of a luxuriant tree. This refers to the birth of Buddha in the Simwaliwana forest, which is very poetically translated in Mr. Alabaster's 'Wheel of the Law' (p. 101).

'When the queen Maia entered this forest, the trees, the inanimate trees, bowed down their heads before her, as if they would say, 'Enjoy yourself, O queen, among us, ere you proceed on your journey.' And the queen,

* Alabaster's Life of Buddha, p. 150.

looking on the great trees and the forest, lovely as the gardens of the angels, ordered her litter to be stayed, that she might descend and walk. Then standing under one of the majestic trees, she desired to pluck a sprig from the branches, and the branches bent themselves down, that she might reach the sprig that she desired; and at that moment, while she yet held the branch, her labour came upon her. Her attendants held curtains around her, the angels brought her garments of the most exquisite softness; and standing there, holding the branch, with her face turned to the East, she brought forth her son, without pain or any of the circumstances which attend that event with women in general.'

To speak further of the symbols of Buddhism is quite beyond the province I have chosen. Every information on this subject, can be gleaned with ease from the learned writings of Schlagintweit and Alabaster, and I shall have occasion to say more about them when I come to speak of particular figures.

Fifthly.—Inscriptions. These vary from B. C. 200 to A. D. 1000, and are in most cases confined to the Buddhist creed. I have, however, discovered several dated inscriptions, which I shall give in full when I come to speak of the monastic buildings to which they belong.

I now proceed without any further introduction to give an account of the Buddhist remains in Bihár.

IV. Kusa'ga'rapura and Ra'jagriha.

Neither Hwen Thsang nor Chi-Fah-Hiyan visited at once the capital of the Magadha kingdom. Both of them arrived there after spending a considerable time in the various monasteries of the surrounding territory. A description of the remains of those institutions will follow in future chapters; but I have thought it best for many reasons to commence my narrative with an account of the great metropolis itself.

The ruins of Rájagriha may conveniently be classified under two heads: 1st, the remains of the more ancient city—Kuságárapúra—situated within the Valley of the Five Hills; 2nd, those of the more modern city Rájagriha, which are found in the plain to the north of the mountains. The one I designate as the city of Bimbisára, the other as that of Ajátasatru. These towns were visited by both the Buddhist pilgrims, by Fah Hiyan about the year 415, A. D., and by Hwen Thsang in March, 637, A. D. Hwen Thsang and Fah-Hiyan have bequeathed to posterity very detailed accounts of the monuments and antiquities both of the towns themselves, and the sacred range of hills which surrounded them. Their respective narratives are to be found in the "Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," Vol. III, pp. 15—41, in the "Histoire de la Vie de Hwén Thsang," pp. 153—161; in Mr. Laidley's

translation of M. Remusat's Chi-Fah-Hiyan, pp. 264-279, and the Rev. S. Beal's original translation of the same writer, pp. 111-119.

According to the first named work, Hwen Thsang travelled to Rájagriha from Nálandá, but the second states that he arrived first at the ancient town of Bimbisára viâ Bodh Gayá and Kukkuṭapáda; but both translations of the earlier pilgrim agree in taking him to the capital by the former route.

Nálandá was the largest and most important Buddhist monastery in India, and is identical with the modern village of Bargáon situated about six or seven miles to the north or north-west of Rájagriha. It is now the scene of a mass of the most interesting ruins, which have been fully described by me in a separate pamphlet.* Since the time that account was printed, fresh excavations have been made, and I trust one day to present to the public a still more complete account of these important Buddhistic remains.

I shall now proceed to follow in the first place the footsteps of Fah-Hiyan.

He writes "Going west from Nálandá one yojana, we arrive at the new Rájgir." This undoubtedly corresponds with the large circuit of fortifications (still bearing the same name) at the foot of the Baibhár and Vipula hills, situated six miles or thereabouts to the *south* of the Bargáon ruins. I, therefore, think the direction given by the translators must be a mistake.

Fah-Hian continues: 'This was the town king Ajásat built. There are two Sanghárámas in it. Leaving the town by the west gate and proceeding 300 paces, (we arrive at) the tower which king Ajásat raised over the share of Buddha's relics which he obtained. Its height is very imposing.'

The walls of the town and its gates are distinctly traceable at the distance of about half a mile from the foot of the mountain and directly facing the northern entrance of the Valley of the Five Hills. Its form is somewhat difficult to describe, and authors have varied in their attempts to do so, but after careful inspection from all points of view, and, what is still better, after studying its form from two of the hills above, I am of opinion it cannot be correctly called a pentagon, but is rather a quadrilateral, having, as measured from the top of the ramparts, three equal sides, *viz.*, the north, west, and south, each measuring 1,900 feet, and one unequal *viz.*, the east, measuring 1,200 feet. The wall appears to have had a uniform thickness of about 14 feet, and is composed of masses of stone about four feet square, the faces of which are made uniform and placed one upon the other in close contiguity, without any mortar or cement whatever. Starting from the north-east corner, where a stone bastion still exists in tolerable entirety, the wall remains unbroken for 200 feet, at the end of which distance a second bastion appears to have existed and similar traces are seen at the 300th foot. The remains of the wall now almost entirely disappear, but at the distance of

* Ruins of the Nálandá Monastery, by A. M. Broadley. Calcutta, 1872.

1100 feet from the north-east corner there is a portion of an entire wall measuring 20 feet by 14. Further on, the wall appears clearly to have been removed and hardly a trace of it remains till towards the north-west corner, where its elevation considerably increases, and there are enormous masses of brick, which lead me to the conclusion that a tower must have once existed here. At this place the bricks are very small and of remarkable solidity. At a distance of 110 feet from the corner there are clear marks of a bastion, and the same feature is observable at similar distances up to the great west door, some 500 or 600 feet from the north-west corner of the fort. The rampart throughout this distance presents an average elevation of 25 or 30 feet above the plain beneath. Just before the west door, a fine piece of wall still remains intact measuring 26 feet by 14. Passing out by the west gate and going 800 feet in a direct line to the south-west, and crossing about midway the Sarasvatí rivulet, one arrives at a circular mound having an elevation of some 30 feet and a diameter of 180. The centre is considerably depressed, and seems to consist simply of masses of bricks similar to those on the ramparts and inside the fort. From the west side of the ruins a sort of terrace leads to a semi-circular heap of somewhat less elevation than the first. In the centre of this I discovered three large statues of Buddha, all headless but otherwise little mutilated; they are all seated on lotus-petal thrones, supported by bases ornamented by different devices. In one, several figures are seen in the act of making an offering; the centre of the second is occupied by the "Wheel of the Law," with a deer on either side, and the third bears the representations of two lions-couchant. These mounds are undoubtedly the ruins of the great tower mentioned in the text. I have made at the present time two incisions in the side of the topes, and have recovered from them some Buddhist idols of remarkable beauty, as well as a tablet covered with the representations of the nine planets.

From the west door the ramparts still increase in height, but the wall is hidden by masses of brick. Not far from the end of the western side, there is another break in the wall, exactly opposite which is a small temple containing a Buddhist idol, now worshipped by the Hindús as the image of Beni Mádhava. At each side of the Sarasvatí stream is a *pacca* ghát, and the ceremonies of "Goudáu" and "Pindádán" are constantly performed here. At a short distance from this opening, the south rampart commences, and has an elevation nearly equal to that on the west. The wall is not straight, but inclines towards the north-east. At about the 500th foot from the south-west corner, there are unmistakable traces of an enormous brick tower, and 400 feet farther on there is a long piece of wall still intact, and terminating in the southern gate. From this point to the south-east angle the wall is clearly visible. It has an elevation of some 30 or 40 feet above the valley, and there appear to have been bastions at distances varying

from 100 to 110 feet. Opposite the south-east corner and at a distance of 50 or 60 paces, there are distinct marks of a ruined tower similar to the one near the western gate already described. The wall towards the east has a total length of nearly 1,200 feet, and the ruins have a very inconsiderable elevation. Bastions are clearly visible at the following distances from the south-east angle, *viz.*, 200, 320, 420, 520, 620, 720, 820, 920, 1020, 1120, and 1200 feet. Montgomery Martin considers the heaps of brick to be the remains of a second set of fortifications built by Sher Sháh, but I am rather inclined to regard them as the ruins of the ancient towers, the two monasteries, and the royal palace, which we know to have existed in the town and parts of which as well as other buildings were doubtless built on the city walls. General Cunningham gives a much larger area to the ruined city, but it must be remembered that he made his measurements outside the ditch, very faint traces of which are visible on two sides of the wall. I have endeavoured to trace carefully the rampart, and in many places removed the heaps of brick which covered it. In most cases I succeeded in uncovering the original wall, which uniformly presents a thickness of 14 feet. As regards the outer walls which are said to have existed, if the heaps of stone which are found at different distances from the fort are traces of them, they are so imperfect that any attempt to follow them would be simply futile.

It now remains for us to see what Hwen Thsang said of the "new town." The description of the "old town" comes first in his account. After completing his account of the deserted city, he says:* "En sortant par la porte septentrionale de la ville entourée de montagnes—Kouçágárapura—il fit un li, et arriva au Bois de Bambous donné par Karaṇdavéṇouvana. Il y a maintenant un Vihára dont les fondements sont en pierre et le bâtiment en briques. La porte regard l'orient." This spot can be very correctly identified with the mass of débris found in the ravine, between the northern gate of the old town, and the southern entrance to the new. A large platform of stone-work still exists, and this is covered by a small pillared cell. It is, strange to say, still popularly called the Madrasah, or College,—vihára. He then distinctly mentions the stúpas referred to above. He writes, "A l'est du bois des Bambous de Karaṇdavéṇouvana il y a un stoûpa qui a été bâti par le roi Ajátuçatrou. Après le Nirváṇa du Tathágata les rois partagèrent les reliques. Le roi s'en retourna avec la portion qu' il avait obtenue, bâtit par respect un stoûpa et lui offrit ses hommages. Le roi Açoka ayant conçu une foi sincère, ouvrit le monument, prit les reliques, et bâtit à son tour un autre stoûpa. *A côté du stoûpa* du roi Ajátuçatrou il y en a un autre qui renferme les reliques de la moitié du corps du vénérable Ananda." This description agrees wonderfully with that given by me above, of the two tumuli to the west of the new-town, of the identity of which there

* Mémoires, Tom. III., p. 29.

cannot be the slightest doubt. "Au nord du Vihára du Bois des Bambous," continues Hwen Thsang, "il fit environ deux cents pas, et arriva à l' étang de Karaṇḍahrada." The remains of the tank can still be seen facing the southern wall of the new town, and a figure I found there bore the words "A religious gift to the Karaṇḍahrada tank." To the north of the tank, at a distance of two or three feet, he saw a stúpa about 60 feet in height, which had been built by Açoka. This must be identical with one of the jungle covered mounds just under the city ramparts; but every trace of the monolith which stood beside it, has disappeared.

He now arrives in new Rájgir, and it is clear that the two centuries which had passed since Fah Hiyan's visit, had reduced the town to a ruin, very little different from that which it has been my task to describe, a fact which makes the contemplation of these venerable walls doubly interesting, both to the historian and to the archæologist. He writes,* "L 'enceinte extérieure était déjà détruite, *et l'on n'apercevait pas même les restes des murs*" [yet General Cunningham endeavours to survey them !]. "Quoique les murs intérieurs fussent en ruines, leur base avait encore une certaine élévation, et embrassait dans ses contours une vingtaine de li......A l' angle sud-ouest de la ville royale il y a deux petits Sánghárámas où s'arrêtent les religieux étrangers qui voyagent." These monasteries are now represented by the enormous pile of bricks and rubbish which is to be found at the south-west corner of the town, and which I have already alluded to.

We can now return to Fah Hiyan, and follow him into the Valley of the Five Hills.

'Leaving the south side of the city and proceeding southwards four *li*, we enter a valley between five hills. These hills encircle it completely like the walls of a town. This is the site of the old city of king Bimbisára.' The valley is clearly identical with the narrow tract of country surrounded by the five mountains of Rájgir, a little less than a mile due south of the fortifications previously described. This spot is of the greatest archæological interest. Here once stood, according to tradition, the impregnable fortress of Jarásandha, outside the walls of which was fought one of the most famous battles of the Mahábhárata; centuries later, the valley was the scene of many of the episodes in the life of Tathágata; and lastly—during the palmiest days of Muhammadan rule in Bihár—its solitudes became the abiding place of Makhdúm Sharaf-uddín, one of the greatest saints amongst the Faithful in Hindústán.

These five hills are by no means solitary; they form a portion of a rocky mountain chain stretching nearly thirty miles from the neighbourhood of Gayá, north-west as far as Giryak in Bihár. Their sides are rugged and precipitous, and are mostly covered with an impenetrable jungle, broken only

* Mémoires, Tom. III, p. 38.

by irregular pathways overgrown with brushwood, which are yearly trodden by hundreds of Jain pilgrims from Murshidábád, Banáras, and even Bombay, who throng to Rájgir during the cold and dry seasons to do homage to the sacred *charanas*, or 'foot-prints,' of their saints, enshrined in the temples which crown the mountain tops.

The north side of the valley is bounded by Mount Baibhár—a rocky hill running three or four miles north-west, and terminating at its eastern side in the hot wells of Rájgir. Here the valley is entered by a narrow ravine through the midst of which the Sarasvatí rivulet forces its way into the low country to the north of the hills. On the eastern side of the stream rises the lofty ascent of Mount Vipula, a branch of which runs as far as Giryak, a distance of six miles. Hardly a quarter of a mile from the western side of the hill, it is joined at right angles by a third mountain running from the north, called Ratnagir. This hill is of inconsiderable length and terminates in a narrow ravine branching away to the east. On the opposite side of this ravine rises Mount Udayagir, a less important hill, running due south and terminating in the ancient wall and fort of Bangangá, the southern gate of the ancient capital of Magadha. To the west of the torrent is the fifth and largest hill, Mount Sonár. It first takes a course to the west, then turns northwards, and finally, exactly opposite the narrow valley between Mounts Ratnagir and Udayagir, stretches away to the west, and forms the southern boundary of this natural fortress, being only separated at its western extremity by a narrow ravine from an offshoot of Mount Baibhár, commonly called the 'Chhátá.' These five hills are called in the Mahábhárata*—Vaihára, Varáha, Vṛishábha, Rishigiri, and Chaityaka; and in the Pali annals of Ceylon—Gijjhakuta, Isigili, Webháro,† Wepulo, and Pandawo.‡

Speaking of the valley, Fah-Hiyan§ goes on to say: 'From east to west it is about five or six *li*, from north to south seven or eight *li*.' It is evident that Fah-Hian excluded from his computation the eastern and western bifurcations of the valley, and even then its dimensions are slightly understated.

The description of the valley of the five hills given by Hwen Thsang‖ differs very considerably from that of his forerunner. He tells us that the city was situated just in the centre of the kingdom of Magadha, and was in

* Mahábhárata, II. 20, v. 799, 800.

† Lasson suspects the reading *Vaibhára* by Turnour to be incorrect, and proposes to read *Vaihára* in accordance with the Mahábhárata. 'It is surprising,' he adds, 'that the first and last names are Buddhistic, and we may, therefore, suspect they were given to these mountains only after the time of Buddha. *Alterth.*, vol. II., p. 79.

‡ Turnour, in Jour. As. Soc. Beng., vol. VI., p. 996.

§ Beal's Fah Hian, Chapter xxviii., p. 112.

‖ Mémoires, Tom. III., pp. 15-16.

ancient days the metropolis of the country Its name, he says, was derived from a flowering shrub, which grew there in abundance. He continues: "De hautes montagnes l'entourent de quatre côtés et forment ses murs extérieurs. A l'ouest on y pénètre par un sentier qui existe entre deux montagnes; au nord on a ouvert une entrée à travers la montagne. Cette ville est allongée de l'est à l'ouest et resserrée du sud au nord. Sa circonference est de cent-cinquante li (30 miles). Les restes des fondements de la ville intérieure ont environ trente li detour."

This area would make the outer walls of the old town to extend from Giryak to the Chháta hill, a distance of ten or eleven miles; and from the foot of the Udayagir and Sonárgir hills to the opposite side of the valley, a distance of two or three miles. From a careful examination of every part of the valley, I have little doubt that the whole of it, or very nearly so, was surrounded by the fortification of the ancient capital, but the inner town, (the ramparts alone of which I have endeavoured to trace) certainly did not extend further than the Nekpái embankment on the one side, to the Jarásandha band on the other. I will now proceed to describe as shortly as possible the present appearance of the valley of the "sweet-scented shrub."

The north side of the valley is watered by two streams, both bearing the name of Sarasvati, which rise, the one at the foot of Ratnagir, and the other at the western extremity of Mount Sonár. These rivulets join a short distance to the south of the ravine which forms the entrance to the valley. The sides of the hills and the plain at their feet are covered mostly by a tangled mass of flowering shrubs and wild *tulsí* grass, broken only by some protruding escarpment or the white cupola of a Jain pagoda in the one case, and in the other, by heaps of bricks—the ruins of temples and topes, and the huge piles of stones which still mark the ancient ramparts of the city. The form of the walls can, with a little difficulty, be traced with tolerable accuracy. Strictly speaking, these ramparts formed an irregular pentagon about four miles in circumference. One side faced the west, and was about a mile in length, extending along the western branch of the Sarasvatí; a second ran south to the foot of the Sonárgir; a third east to the entrance of the ravine between Udayagir and Ratnagir; a fourth north, towards the junction of the streams; and the fifth and smallest joins the first and fourth. A road seems to have run through the city from the new town to Bangangá. The northern side of the city, facing the ravine, appears to have been protected by a lofty tower composed of stones of irregular shape, placed one upon the other (not squared and arranged in courses as in the walls of new Rájgir). Near the stream appears to have been another tower of great height and of similar appearance, and close under it an outer gate towards the north. From this place an enormous wall, 18 or 20 feet thick

and 15 or 16 feet high, stretched itself to the summit of Mount Vipula, and protected the city from attacks on the mountain side. There were doubtless similar fortifications on the side of Mount Baibhár, but their traces are very faint, whereas those on the western slope of Mount Vipula are remarkably perfect and distinct. Over the whole surface of the interior of the city is spread a mass of débris covered by brushwood and shrubs, and here and there are piles of bricks and stones, denoting the site of some house or temple. Near the south-west corner of the city is a lofty tumulus, somewhat higher than the ruins of the eastern entrance. This is covered by a small Jaina cupola of brick and plaster. The sides of the tumulus are strewn with bricks and fragments of granite pillars. I also discovered some pieces of cornice covered with representations of Buddhas and Nágás. I made an excavation on the north side of the tumulus, and uncovered a considerable portion of the northern side of a Buddhist building, of which the entrance seems to have faced the north—a feature I have not before met with in any similar ruin,—for the numerous temples which I have seen at Rájgir and other places are, without exception, approached from the east. A staircase of brick, with walls on either side, led to the inner hall. The walls appear to have been strengthened, and the roof at the same time provided with supports, by the erection of gray stone pillars, about four feet apart, with plain square bases and capitals. This passage led to a room about 12 feet square, containing twelve pillars similar to those in the staircase—ten of which are imbedded in the brickwork and two support the roof in the centre of the chamber. The centre hall is directly underneath the Jaina temple, and it consequently has been impossible to uncover it. I think the precise nature of the original building is doubtful; the position of the entrance leads me to the conclusion that it was most likely a house or tower, not a religious edifice. The doorway seems to have been surmounted by a long basalt slab containing figures twelve inches high. I brought away two pieces of this to Bihár. Several other figures were found in this place years ago, when it was pierced by an avaricious road-contractor in the hope of finding treasure. If he ever learned the Jaina traditions connected with the place, his hopes must have been high, for they make out the tumulus to be the ruin of the house of Danáji and Sathadráji, two seths, or bankers, in whose honour, they say, a small temple still exists on the eastern slope of Mount Baibhár. If the priests made their story known to this enterprising scion of the Department of Public Works, they cannot solely blame him for the disaster which followed on his researches, namely, the collapse of the stucco pagoda and its sacred '*charana*,' towards the end of the succeeding rains.

About a mile to the south-east of the mound is a long piece of rampart known as 'Barghaut.' In the centre of this was the southern gate of Kuságárapura, flanked by two towers. The view from the top of the ruin

is very striking, for you see at once both entrances of the valley and all the five hills. A little to the west of this, at the foot of Sonárgir, is a ridge of rock called the wrestling ground of Bhím, and various indentations in its surface are pointed out as the marks of the feet of the combatants. Beneath this, to the west of the city walls, and between Mounts Baibhár and Sonár is Raṉbhúm, the traditionary scene of the battle mentioned in the Mahábhárata.

A rugged path leads from this place to the southern outlet of the valley at Bangangá. Certain marks on the stones are considered by Captain Kittoe to be inscriptions, but if this be the case, the letters are far too imperfect to admit of being deciphered. The valley terminates in a rocky ravine of the most inconsiderable width, having Sonárgir to the west and Udayagir to the east. The Bangangá torrent, which rises at the foot of the former, rushes over the slippery rocks into the southern plain of Hisua-Nowáḍa. The pass is literally only a few feet wide, and its entrance was jealously guarded by fortifications of enormous strength, which will be fully described when I come to speak of the antiquities of the hills.

The first mountain I ascended was Baibhár to the north-east of the northern entrance of the valley. At the foot of the hill runs the Sarasvatí, from the banks of which a large stone staircase leads to the sacred wells and temples, which, though still venerated by the Hindús of Bihár, yield but a scanty subsistence to the numerous Bráhmans who attend them. The wells are vaults of stone, about 10 feet square and 12 deep, approached by steps; and the temples are quite modern, and of the poorest proportions and workmanship. Most of them contain fragments of Buddhist idols, mouldings, cornices, &c., and here and there I noticed a *chaitya*, now doing duty as a *linga*. All of these carvings, however, are very inferior to those found by me in the mounds of Bargáon, Rohoí, and Kalyánpúr. The wells at the foot of Baibhár are seven in number, and are all clustered round the great Bráhmakuṇḍ, which is larger, deeper and more highly esteemed than the rest. The one nearest the ascent of the mountain is the *Gangá-Jamuna-kuṇḍ*. The water is warm, and enters the vault by means of two stone shoots, the ends of which are carved to represent the heads of tigers or lions. They remind one strangely of the *gurgoyles* of early English Architecture. These pipes were clearly mentioned by Hwen Thsang in the narrative of his travels. He says "à toutes les ouvertures par où s'échappe l'eau des sources, on a posé des pierres sculptées. Tantôt on a figuré des têtes de lions, etc."* Below this are the *Anand Rikhi, Márkanda*, and *Byás kuṇḍ* springs. Next to these comes the *Sát dwára*—a vault some 60 feet long by 10 feet wide, which receives seven distinct streams on the west side, from the mountain above. Several of these springs enter the reservoir through "tuyaux

* Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 23.

suspendus," and at the south end is a small subterranean temple containing rude and, apparently, very modern images of the 'Seven Ṛishis.' At the east side of the *Sát dwára* is the celebrated *Bráhma kuṇḍ.* The temperature of the water is about 105 deg. Fahr. It is in this that several hundred thousand persons bathe at the recurrence of every thirty-first lunation. Below this is the *Kásí tírth,* which is in reality a mere outlet for the waters of the Bráhma kuṇḍ, which escape through it, still warm and steaming, into the Sarasvatí below. Climbing a distance of 276 feet to the south-west of the Márkanda kuṇḍ, one arrives at an enormous stone platform projecting from the face of the hill. It is composed of huge masses of unhewn stone piled one upon the other, and is about 50 feet square and 28 high. At its base there are a number of small grottos six or eight feet square, of which two are in the eastern and five on the northern side. These were evidently caves or chambers of meditation, and are up to this day inhabited at times by 'nágas' or 'sádhus', a *jogí* whose body is perpetually smeared with ashes, and whose wardrobe seems to consist merely of a very small waistcloth, a tattered umbrella, and a necklace of enormous beads. These beggars flock in thousands from all parts of India to Rájgir during the great fair, and are fed by the *Mahants,* or abbots, of the monasteries of Rájgir and Rájávali, who alone exercise the jealously-guarded right of raising their crimson standards during the month in which the gathering takes place.

To return to the stone platform. It is generally known as the *Jarásandha-ká-baiṭhak,* and on its summit are three Muhammadan tombs, one of which is said to be that of Rája Kámdár Khán Maíṇ, whose life and adventures during the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries form the subject of many a rude ballad and story in Bihár, and which occupy almost the same place in the heart of the people as the tales of Robin Hood and his followers do at home. Behind this platform is a large cave. I searched for it in vain in September, but owing to the dense brushwood and jungle which covered it during the rainy season, I failed to find it. General Cunningham, however, was fortunate enough to light on it during his recent visit, and I have since completely cleared and excavated it. It is of oval shape, and has an opening to the east. Its floor was considerably below the surface, and was reached by a flight of eight or nine brick steps several of which I uncovered almost entire. The chamber measured 36 feet from east to west, and 26 from north to south. The roof (most of which has fallen in) was 18 or 20 feet high. The whole was lined, as it were, by a brick wall about 2 feet thick. In the midst of the rubbish which filled up the bottom of the cave I found a very perfect standing figure of Buddha in black basalt. I can, I think, satisfactorily identify this cave and platform with the account of Fah-Hiyan and also with that of Hwen Thsang. Fah-Hiyan says—"skirting the southern hill" (and it is to be noted that this

part of Baibhár runs almost due south) "and proceeding westward 300 paces, there is a stone cell, called the *Pipal Cave,* where Buddha was accustomed to sit in deep meditation after his mid-day meal."*

This corresponds exactly with the position of the cave in question, and this view is supported strongly by the succeeding sentence,—"going still in a westerly direction five or six *li,* there is a stone cave situate in the northern shade of the mountain, and called Che-ti." This description applies with singular accuracy to the Sonbhándár Cave in the northern shade of Mount Baibhár, and almost exactly a mile from the *baithak* of Jarásandha. Hwen Thsang's account is still more striking,—"A l'ouest des sources thermales, on voit la maison en pierre du *Pi-po-lo* (Pippala). Jadis, l'honorable du siècle, y faisait son séjour habituel. La caverne *profonde* qui s'ouvre derrière ses murs était le palais des *'O-sou-lo*—Asouras"† [of Jarásandha ?].

Pushing 600 feet further up the mountain side, I found another platform, or *baithak,* almost identical in size and shape with that of Jarásandha. The Rájwárs call it *Sítámuri,* but I could discover no special legend concerning it. Leaving it and climbing up a steep ascent to the west for a distance of about 1300 feet, one comes, quite suddenly, on a small Jaina temple built some few years ago by one Hukúmat Rai. Between the last *baithak* and this temple there are marks of an enormous wall, 14 or 15 feet thick, and this forms the pathway which leads up the mountain side. The Rájwárs, the sole inhabitants of the wild of Rájgir, called it Jarásandha's staircase, and tell you that he built it in a single day to assemble his troops on the mountain tops on the approach of his enemies from the west. The temple contains (besides the usual *charana,* or footprint) two very fine and perfect figures of Buddha. The first is three feet high. Buddha is represented sitting on the lotus throne *(padmasana)* in the attitude of meditation. Beneath this, the *Sinhásana* is divided into three compartments—the two outer containing lions, and the middle one the 'Wheel of the Law,' (very elaborately carved) supported by two shells. The second figure is a smaller one and is surmounted by a canopy.

Eight hundred feet to the west of this temple is a similar building containing nothing of interest. Twelve or fourteen paces to the south of it, I found the ruins of a very small Buddhist temple covered with the densest jungle. It appears to have contained twelve gray stone columns about six feet high. The entrance was to the east, and in digging out the centre I found a very curious image of Buddha—very roughly carved. The main figure was surrounded by smaller ones, each depicting some chief episode in his life. Piercing the jungle 400 feet to the south-west of this ruin, I found the remains of a very large temple almost perfect. The cupola had fallen

* Beal's Fah-Hian, Ch. xxx., p. 117.

† Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 24.

down on all sides, forming a mound about 500 feet in circumference and 16 or 17 feet high. The entrance to the east is about 6 feet wide, and leads to a passage some 14 or 15 feet long, the roof of which was formerly supported by gray stone pillars about 6 feet high. This leads to a square chamber or hall some 23 or 24 feet square. Its roof is supported by twelve columns in the chamber, and eighteen more let into the brick work. These columns are each 7 feet high, with square bases and capitals and octagon shafts. They rested on a detached square plinth a foot high. A sur-capital, separate from the shaft, and cruciform in plan, supported the roof which was composed of enormous granite slabs laid transversely. From this room a massive doorway and a flight of three steps leads to the inner chamber—somewhat less in size than the other, but considerably loftier—the total height of its roof being 13 feet. The columns are of the same description as those in the outer hall, but more lofty. The detached capital are each a foot high, the base is 2, the octagonal shaft 6, and the second capital 3 feet in height. The lintel of the doorway is 2 feet broad and is carved with a rude moulding. In the centre of the lintel, is a figure of Buddha. I found no images in the temple, but it is by far the most perfect building of the kind I have yet seen. Its situation is magnificent, commanding at once a view of the highly cultivated plain of Bihár, the "solitary rock," the topes and temples of Nálandá, the walls of new Rájgir, the five hills, and the valley of Kuságárapura.

A short distance to the south of this is a very small Jaina temple dedicated to Dharmanátha and Shantinátha, the 15th and 16th *Tírthankaras.* It contains two images and a *charana,* with an inscription about 200 years old. The *pujári* has corrupted the names to 'Dhánaji' and 'Sathadraji,' and describes them as two wealthy bankers who lived in the house at the Nirmul kuṇḍ, *i. e.* the mound in the south-west corner of the ancient city.

Continuing to ascend the eastern slope of the hill for nearly a quarter of a mile, we arrive at a Jaina temple of very considerable dimensions. It is square in form, and is surmounted by four handsome minarets and a cupola. It was built by one Pratáp Singh of Murshidábád, and a passage (*pradakshiná*) encircles the central shrine. There is also a small octagon chapel, containing *charanas* at each corner. The doorway has been taken from a Buddhist temple, and is covered with exquisite carving. The temple is 51 feet by 58. Some two hundred yards to the west of this is the largest temple of the group, built by one Mánikchand Seṭh in the middle of the last century. Mánikchand was a well known character in Calcutta, and is dedication is recorded on the *charana.* The building consists almost entirely of Buddhist materials. It has a vestibule, the roof of which is supported by pillars somewhat smaller in size, though of the same shape as those in the temple I have described above in detail. At the north side are

the remains of a Buddhist temple, probably larger than any other on the hill. Its pillars, &c., lie about in all directions, and it seems to have served as the quarry from which Mánikchand built his. A quarter of a mile further on, and near the crest of the hill, I had the good fortune to find another Buddhist temple in the jungle, about five paces to the north of the path. Its details resemble very much those of the great temple below, but a figure of Buddha still occupies the centre, and the foundations of a court-yard can still be traced.

Proceeding still westwards for nearly half a mile, the highest peak of the hill is gained, where is an enormous *tope*, covered with brushwood, and crowned with a Jaina temple. The view from the top is magnificent, especially towards the valley, the whole of which Baibhár commands.

Descending the almost precipitous southern face of the mountain, I arrived at the Sonbhándár cave, which is situated in the "northern shade" of the hill, as nearly as possible a mile to the south-west of the hot wells. I have little difficulty in identifying this with the Sattapánni cave spoken of both by Fah-Hian and Hwen Thsang. In doing so it must be borne in mind that the Baibhár hill runs due *south*-west—*not* 'west,' and that the Sonbhándár is near the northern end of the mountain. Fah-Hian says, that "going in a *westerly* direction five or six *lis*" (*i. e.*, from just above the hot-springs) "there is a *stone cave* situate in the northern shade of the mountain, and called *Che-ti*. This is the place where 500 Rahats assembled after the *Nirvána* of Buddha to arrange the collection of sacred books." This coincides exactly with the position of the Sonbhándár cave, and it also agrees with Hwen Thsang, who places it five or six *lis* to the south-west of the Karandavénuvana clump of bamboos, which both authors represent as being close to the hot-springs. The words of Hwen Thsang are as follows —"au sud-ouest du Bois des Bambous, il fit cinq à six liv. Au nord d'une montagne située au midi," (this I have previously explained) "au milieu d'un vaste bois de bambous il y a une grande maison en pierre. Ce fut là qu'après le *Nirvána* de *Jaulaï*, le venerable Mahá Káshyapa et neuf cent quatre-vingt-dix-neuf grands Arhats formèrent la collection des trois Recueils sacrés. En face de cette maison, on voit encore d'ancients fondements. Le roi Ajátasatru avait fait construire cet édifice, &c."

The cave appears to have been formerly approached from the south by a staircase or sloping path, which has now almost entirely disappeared, and to have been faced by a broad platform nearly 100 feet square. This space was occupied by an extensive hall, the rafters supporting the roof of which rested in cavities in the rock that still exist. Piles of bricks and stones lie in all directions. The face of the cave has a naked surface of rock, as smooth and even as if built of brick. It is 44 feet in length and 16 feet high, and is bounded on the west by a protruding rock and on the east by

a narrow staircase of twenty steps cut in the cliff. The rock is pierced in the centre by a door 6 feet 4 inches high and about 3½ feet wide. The thickness of the wall of rock is exactly 3 feet. At 11 feet 10 inches west from the door, and in a line with it is an opening in the cliff 3 feet high by 3 feet wide, which serves to light the vault. The interior is a vaulted chamber 33 feet long by 17 feet wide, with a semicircular roof 16 feet high. The floor has been spoiled by the water which constantly falls from the roofs. Outside the door, and three feet to the west of it, is a headless figure of Buddha cut in the rock, and close to it an inscription, in the Asoka character, recording the visit of some holy man to the cave in search of quiet and solitude. There are also some Devanagarí inscriptions inside.

Inside the cave is a 'chaitya,' so curious in shape and design, that I think it worth while to describe it somewhat fully.

Its form is square with a conical top surmounted by a large knob. Each side is 1 foot 10 inches broad, and its total height is 4 feet 9 inches. On each face there is a pillared canopy, underneath which is a standing figure of Buddha on a lotus-leaf pedestal, with a miniature attendant on either side, each holding a torch. The hair on the head is knotted, and the body is covered by a long cloak. The hands, instead of being raised in the usual attitude, are held down close by the side. The attendant figures are elaborately dressed and ornamented. At each corner of the arch of the canopy are figures holding scrolls. In the centre of the canopy, and immediately above the head of Buddha, rises a pípal tree surmounted by three umbrellas. The bases vary in design; on either side, beneath the pedestal, is depicted the Wheel of the Law, supported on one side by elephants, on another by caparisoned horses (with saddles of almost European shape), on the third by elephants kneeling, and on the fourth by bulls. The conical top of the *chaitya* resembles the cupola of a temple.

To return to Mount Vipula. This hill rises about three hundred yards to the east of the hot springs previously described. Its direction is due north-east. The northern face of the mountain is a rugged cliff, and its western slope is but a little less precipitous. At the foot of the hill there are six wells,—some of which contain hot, and some cold water. They resemble in shape those of Mount Baibhár, and are called respectively Nánákuṇḍ, Sítá-kuṇḍ, Sóma-kuṇḍ, Ganesha-kuṇḍ, and Ráma-kuṇḍ. Nearly a quarter of a mile from these wells is a spring immediately under the northern face of the mountain. It is surrounded by a large enclosure, and its water is tepid. Passing through a courtyard, the visitor arrives at a small stone-cell in the rock, and immediately above this a flight of some eighty steps leads up the side of the hill to a platform paved with brick. This is the celebrated Makhdúm-kuṇḍ of the Muhammadans, and Sringgi-rikhi-kuṇḍ of the Hindús. This well is held in extraordinary veneration alike by Hindús

and Musalmáns, and is thronged by pilgrims all the year round. The spot is celebrated as the residence of Makhdúm Sháh Shaikh Sharaf-uddín Ahmad, a saint, not only revered by the Muhammadans of Bihár, but by the followers of the Crescent all over India. The date of his sojourn at Rájgir was, as far as I can ascertain, about 715, A. H. The stone cell is said to be his "hujrah," *i. e.*, the scene of a forty days' meditation and fast [Persian, *chillah*], and the platform above, the place of his morning and evening prayers. General Cunningham has been led into a strange error about this spot, and states it to have been *the dwelling of Saint Chillah, a converted Hindú.**. I shall give a complete history of the life and writings of Sharaf-uddin, in connection with the history of Muhammadan rule in Bihár.

About two hundred feet from the foot of the hill, almost immediately above the northern gate of the ancient city, and nearly half a mile southwest of the Makhdúm-kuṇḍ, are the remains of an enormous brick *stúpa* or "tope," now surmounted by a small temple of Mahádeva. There is a similar ruin opposite this at the foot of Baibhár, and the bed of the ravine is also strewn with débris. I clearly identify these ruins with the description of Hwen Thsang :† "En dehors de la porte septentrionale de la ville, il y a un *Stoûpa*...... au *nord-est* de l'endroit où fut dompté l'éléphant ivre il y a un *Stoûpa.*" Leaving this place, and going some few hundred yards to the north-east, one arrives at two small Jaina pagodas, built on a peak of the hill. The first is dedicated to Hemantu Sádhu, and the second to Mahávira, the 24th Tírthankara of the Jainas, who is said to have lived and died at Pawapúri, eight miles north-east of Rájgir. Continuing to ascend the western face of the hill, one looks down *on a rocky defile which separates Mount Vipula from Ratnagir*. There is little difficulty in identifying this from the remarks of Hwen Thsang as well as by those of Fah-Hian. The former says,‡ "Au nord de l'endroit où *Che-li-tseu* (Sáripouttra) avait obtenu le fruit du Saint (la dignité d'*Arhat*), tout près il y a une fosse large et profonde, à côté de laquelle on a élevé un *Stoûpa*......... Au nord-est de la fosse ardente, à l'angle de la ville entourée de montagnes il y a un *Stoûpa.* En cet endroit, le grand médicin *Chi-po-kia* (Djivika) bâtit en faveur du Bouddha une salle pour l'explication de la loi." Fah-Hian writes :§ "To the north-east of the city in the middle of a crooked defile, Djivika erected a Vihára .. *Its ruins still exist.*" I believe these places to be identical with the remains which I shall presently describe.

Nearly a quarter of a mile to the east of the pagoda of Mahávíra, one arrives at the summit of the hill, which is exactly above the centre of the "crooked defile." At this place is an enormous platform 130 feet long by

* Ancient Geography, p. 466. † Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 16.

‡ Mémoires, Tom. II., pp. 18-19.

§ Beal's Translation, Chap. xxviii, p. 113.

30 wide, and about 6 feet above the surrounding rocks. It is constructed almost entirely of the materials of Buddhist buildings—I counted more than 30 pillars in the floor alone,—and this is easily accounted for by a large pile of ruins *at either end of the platform.* The mound to the east is nearly 30 feet high, and its surface is bestrewn with pillars and stone slabs. The ruins to the west are undoubtedly those of a temple or vihára, and several gray stone columns are still erect. The modern Jaina temples on the platform deserve some notice, as all of them abound, more or less, in Buddhist ornamentation. The first of the series of four is only about 10 feet square, and is surmounted by a simple semi-circular cupola. It is dedicated to Chandraprabha, the 8th Tírthankara. The doorway is a fine specimen of Buddhist art. In the centre is a figure of Buddha under a canopy, and three parallel rows of exquisite geometrical pattern run round the sides. Above the door, a large ornamental slab, about five feet long and eight inches wide, is inserted in the masonry. It is divided into seven compartments, the first of which, on either side, contain figures of elephants, and the remainder—groups of figures in the attitude of the dance. This is almost identical with the ornamentation of a very beautiful doorway excavated by me from the mound at Dápthú, and which is now in my collection of Buddhist sculptures. The next temple is divided into two chambers, and is of considerable size. It is dedicated to Mahávíra, and both the inner and outer doors are very fine. The cornice of the latter is divided into nine compartments, in the first of which a man is represented in the act of dedicating a *chaitya.* The others are filled with the usual Buddhist devices. The top of the temple is pyramidal in shape. The next pagoda is faced by an open court, to the right and left of which are two slabs, the one covered with the representation of the ten Incarnations of Vishnu, and the other with those of the Nine Planets. The vacant space at the base of the carving is covered with a modern inscription in Nagarí. The doorway is surmounted by a comparatively plain moulding. This temple is dedicated to Munisuvrata, the 20th Jaina Tírthankara, who is said to have been born in Rájgir. Inside the fourth temple are four *charanas*—two of them being of white marble. They are dedicated respectively to Mahávíra [or Vardhamána], Párshwanátha, Shanthanátha, and Kunthunátha—the 24th, 23rd, 16th, and 17th Tírthankaras respectively.

Leaving the temples and skirting the north side of the ravine, you cross a narrow ridge which brings you to Mount Ratnagir. The summit is crowned by a temple decorated with some small black basalt columns, elaborately carved. From this a stone staircase or pathway leads down the western slope of the hill to the plain beneath.

Between Ratnagir and Udayagir lies a narrow valley covered with jungle, situated, as nearly as possible due north-east of the ancient city,

and stretching away as far as Giryak, a distance of six or seven miles. I shall now proceed to establish if possible an identification of this valley, connected with the writings of both the pilgrims. Hwen Thsang writes as follows :* "*Au nord-est* de la ville, il fit de quatorze à quinze li" [2½ or 3 miles], "et arriva au mont *Ki-li-tho-kiu-tch'a* (Gṛidhrakoúṭa Párvata), qui *touche au midi de la montagne du nord*, et s'élève isolément à une hauteur prodigieuse.... Le roi *P'in-pi-so-lo* (Bimbisára), voulant entendre la loi, leva un grand nombre d'hommes ; puis, pour *traverser la vallée* et franchir les ravins, depuis le pied de la montagne jusqu'au sommet, il fit assembler des pierres, et pratiqua des *escaliers larges d'environ dix pas, et ayant une longueur de cinq à six li. Au milieu du chemin, il y a deux petits Stoûpas :* .... Le sommet de cette montagne est allongé de l'est à l'ouest, et resserré du sud au nord." He then proceeds to speak of a vihára to the *west* of the mountain, a colossal stone once trodden by the sacred feet of Sákhya Muni, a stúpa to the *south*, and a second on the *summit* of the mountain. Fah-Hian's description† is far less minute, but he gives exactly the same distance [*viz.*, 15 *li*], and speaks of two caves on the hill—the colossal stone —the Vihára, and the lofty peak.

On the 20th January, I made an attempt to explore the valley. Clearing the dense brushwood and jungle as I advanced, I skirted the foot of Ratnagir for about a mile from the old city, and then struck across into the centre of the valley, and pushed on two miles further to the east. I then saw that to the east of Ratnagir there is another mountain terminating in a lofty peak, which towers above the summit of the surrounding hills. This mountain is called Deoghát, and I unhesitatingly identify it with that mentioned in the text of Fah-Hian and Hwen Thsang. It adjoins the southern side of Vipula. In the middle of the valley, a stone terrace or staircase, about 20 feet broad, runs due north, towards the foot of the hill, for a distance of 900 feet. At this point it branches off to the east up the mountain side. At the distance of 300 feet from the plain, I found a small stúpa in *the very centre of the staircase* about 8 feet square, and in front of it three or four steps are still almost intact, each step being about 18 or 20 feet wide and a foot high. Near this place under a great heap of débris I found three images of Buddha almost perfect, but of the rudest workmanship. They are uniform in size, and bear inscriptions. From the stúpa the staircase continues to traverse the mountain-side for a distance of 800 feet. At this point I discovered *a second stúpa* and a large quantity of images, pillars, &c. Of these, the most remarkable are a figure of Buddha seated on a lion, a large Buddha seated on the usual lotus thróne, and a standing figure of Buddha with a long inscription. All these idols have been remov-

* Mémoires, Tom. II., pp. 20-21.

† Beal's Fah-Hian, Ch. xxix., p. 114.

ed to Bihár, and merit a much more detailed description. The terrace now becomes more broken, but its traces are visible up to the peak. From its commencement in the valley up to the summit of the mountain it measures, as nearly as possible, one mile. The south and west side of the hill are covered with the débris of houses, &c., and the solitary peak which crowns the hill is surmounted by an enormous brick *stúpa.* Though there is no natural cave in the southern face of the hill, as might reasonably be expected, the other features it presents are so remarkable that its identification is beyond a doubt, and besides this everything tends to show that the caves and grottos of Rájgir were mostly artificial.

Parallel with Ratnagir and Devagháṭ [or Deogháṭ] runs Udayagir. Two ramparts or walls seem to have traversed the valley. The first to the west now called the Nekpái-band, and the second stretches from the foot of Deogháṭ, as before described, to the centre of the valley, and this seems to have been continued as far as the foot of the Udaya Hill. The slopes of this hill are more gradual than any of the others, and this accounts for the fortifications which surmount it. The steepest side of the mountain is towards the west, and it is through a narrow ravine at the foot of it, that the valley is entered from the south. The passage is very narrow, and in the centre runs the Bangangá rivulet, which rises from beneath Sonárgir. The pass was strongly fortified, and the ramparts and bastions are still remarkably perfect, although they have been exposed to the devastations of the rain and sun for many centuries. Just within the valley are the ruins of the two towers, and at the entrance of the pass, where the width of the ravine is little more than twenty feet, two forts of considerable size—one on the slope of Udayagir, and the other facing it, at the foot of Sonárgir. The former measures 111 feet from the north to south, and 40 from east to west. From this point a massive wall, 16 feet thick (and still having an elevation of some 10 or 12 feet), stretches in a direct line due east to the summit of the mountain. I measured it to a distance of 4,000 feet from the commencement, and it thus appears to continue its course for more than two miles on the crest of the hill, then to cross over towards the north, and finally to pass down the northern slope, and into the narrow valley between Udayagir and Ratnagir, just opposite the staircase of Bimbisára, which leads to the summit of the Deoghát hill. The wall is composed of huge stones on either side, closely fitted together without cement, the centre being filled up by a mass of pebbles and rubbish. There are traces of Buddhist ruins on the top of the hill, and I found several images, and the remains of two large stúpas, and one temple similar to that on Baibhár. There is also a large enclosure containing five modern Jaina temples—the centre one square and the others triangular in shape. Each of the small ones contains a figure of Buddha bearing the creed, "ye dharma hetu, etc." There are

large numbers of gray stône columns at the foot of the mounds above mentioned, and the spot has evidently been once the site of a Vihára.

Although five hills are stated both in poetry and history to have surrounded the ancient capital of Magadha, this can hardly be considered literally correct, and to maintain the old description, several peaks must be considered as forming part of the same mountain. Thus the rocky cliffs of Chháta, (or Chhakra,) must be deemed the eastern extremity of Baibhár, and the various parts of Sonárgir must be considered as portions of one great hill. Sonárgir, the most extensive, though the least lofty, of all the hills, begins at the south-east corner of the valley, and runs due east from this point till it reaches the centre of the valley just above the plain of the Raṇbhúm. From this point three branches stretch eastwards; the first inclining slightly towards the north, and forming the southern boundary of the valley of the five hills, the second runs due east and forms the western side of the ravine which leads into the Hisua-Nowáḍa plains, and the third turns first south, then again almost due east, and finally terminates, as I have before described, in the rocks and torrents of Bangangá. This was evidently the weakest point in the natural defences of the city; for an enemy who had once gained the entrance of the valley, (which appears to have been still further protected by a semi-circular wall outside it,) could easily pass up the gentle slope between the two last mentioned branches of the hill, and descend by an equally easy road on the northern side of the hill into the very heart of the valley. I ascended the hill on this side, and soon gained the summit, which, like that of Udayagir, is occupied by an enormous pile of ruins, and a modern Jaina temple. Inside the pagoda is a large figure of Buddha, bearing the creed, and also a comparatively modern inscription on the unoccupied portions of the pedestal. Several columns are lying about, and also portions of cornice and other ornamental carving. This was once, evidently, the site of some great vihára or temple. Thirty paces south of the pagoda, one comes quite suddenly on the great wall, almost unbroken and entire. It is uniformly sixteen feet thick, but its height differs, at various places. It commences in the Raṇbhúm plain, and then runs in a direct line to the summit of the hill, a distance of 2300 feet. From this point an enormous embankment runs across the valley to the foot of Baibhar, and now bears the name of Jarásandha's band. At the top of the mountain the wall turns to the east, following the crest of the central branch of Sonárgir, which now takes an almost semi-circular form, to a distance of 4100 feet. The wall at this point runs down the ravine, crosses it close to the source of the Bangangá torrent, then ascends the slope of the southern branch of the hill, and passes first along its ridge and then down its western slope till it ends in the foot to the west of the stream, as nearly as possible 12,000 feet from its commencement in the Raṇbhúm plain. The

fort at which it ends is about half the size of the one on the opposite side of the torrent. I have thus succeeded in tracing the great wall which formed the artificial defence of the valley; but strange to say, popular legends, so far from connecting it with any such purpose, make it the evening walk of the Asura king—the spot where he used to enjoy the cool mountain air after the fatigues of the day.

Before giving some account of the wild ravine to the west of the valley it may be interesting to say something of the Jaina pagodas which still adorn the hills. They are maintained and repaired by subscriptions collected all over India, and are yearly visited by thousands of pilgrims from Gwáliár, Bombay, Calcutta, and Murshidabád. They all contain *charanas*, or impressions of the sacred feet of the Tírthankaras—generally carved in black basalt, but sometimes in marble, and invariably surrounded by a Nágarí inscription. I have taken copies of the whole of them, but many have become very indistinct, on account of the oil, ghí, &c., with which they are anointed. The following are specimens of them.* In the temple dedicated to Munisuvráta, on the Vipula Hill, I found the following:—"On the 7th of the waxing moon in the month of Kartika, Samvat 1818, the image of the supremely liberated sage who *attained salvation on the Vipula Mountain* together with his congregation, was made and consecrated by S'ri Amrita Dharma Váchaka." In another of the series of temples:—"On the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Phálguna, Samvat 1504, by Santha S'ivaraja, &c., of the noble Játada race." On Sonárgir:—"In the auspicious Khadatara Fort [*garh*], the image of S ri Adinátha, &c." The other inscriptions are similar, and the dates 1819, 1823, (on Udayagir) 1816, (Ratnagir) 1830 Samvat, occur. I will give one other at length It comes from Vipulagir, and runs as follows:—"On Friday, the 13th of the waxing moon, in the month of Aswina, when the S'aka year 1572 was current, Samvat 1707, [A. D. 1650], Suyánra and his younger brother Gobardhana, sons of Lakshmidása and his wife Vananihála, of the Vihára Vastúvya family, of the Dopada gotra, caused certain repairs to be done to .. .. .. in Rajagriha." Bábú Rajendralála Mitra remarks, that in this inscription all the proper names have the title 'sangha' prefixed to them, and this shows that the individuals in question belonged to a Buddhist congregation.

In one of the temples at the summit of Vipulagir I found the following:—"On the 7th of the waxing moon in Kártika, this statue of Mukhtigupta, the absolutely liberated sage, was made by Sri Sanga, on the "Sri Vipuláchala hill, and consecrated by the preachers of salvation." The Charana on Ratnagir bears the following:—"Om, Salvation. On the 6th of

* These readings and translations were made by Bábú Rajendralála Mitra, for whose valuable assistance I cannot be too grateful.

the waxing moon in the month of Mágha, Samvat year 1829, Shá Mánikchand, son of Bulákidása of the Ganghigotra and Osa family, an inhabitant of Húglí, having repaired the temple on the Ratnagiri hill in Rájagriha, placed the two lotus-like feet of the Jina Sri Pársvanátha there." I conclude with the oldest inscription, which is on Sonárgir—"On the 9th of the waxing moon in the month of Phalguna, in the Samvat year 1504...... of the Játaḍa Gotra, Rámamála Varma Dasa, son of Sangha Mánikadeva, son of the wife of Sangha ... baraja, son of Sangha Búnarája, son of Sangha Devarája." [A. D. 1447.]

The most recent of the inscriptions is dated as late as Samvat 1912, or A. D. 1855.

The ravine on the west of the valley is bounded on either side by a range of rocky hills, terminating in a narrow pathway covered with almost impenetrable brushwood and jungle. The plain between the mountains is almost level, and is covered with bushes, and broken here and there by heaps of stone. A huge embankment stretches right across it, from the foot of Sonárgir (exactly below the Jaina tample which crowns its summit) to that of Baibhár. The plain to the east of this is the Raṇbhúm. About a quarter of a mile beyond this a second *band*, hardly inferior in size and importance, traverses the valley almost at right angles.

The traveller Fah-Hiyan quitted the Magadha capital through the ravine and the rugged valley of Jeti-ban which lies beyond it. I have traversed the whole of the country as far as the hot springs of Tapoban, but a detailed description of it, does not find a place here, as it lies beyond the limits of "Bihár in Patna."

V.—From Tiladaka [or Tilasakya] Monastery to Kalya'npu'r.

Hwen Thsang started from the east of Patna [Pátali] and proceeded to a monastery situated at a place called Tilaçakya, but strange to say one account makes the distance thirty-five miles or seven yojanas, and the other twenty miles or one hundred lis. Although I am unable to explain this discrepancy, except by the generally inaccurate distances given by the writer, I have no hesitation in identifying this place with the modern village of Tillaṛah or Tillaṛdah situated, as nearly as possible twenty-four miles to the south-west of the most easterly part of Patna, (which town is nearly eight miles long) on a narrow strip of land between the Kattár and the Soná streams, two branches of the Phálgú River. The modern village consists of a straggling line of houses and shops running from east to west, but nearly a third of them are unoccupied and fast falling to decay. The town of Tilláṛah, however, still bears the signs of a period of prosperity which has now long since passed away. The ruins of a fine bridge of five arches still spans the now nearly dried up course of the Soná-nadí; a splendid masjid composed

entirely of Buddhist materials is falling to decay on the eastern outskirts of the village, and the ruined verandahs, courtyards, and tombs, which meet the eye in all directions, serve only to testify to the fact, that even during the later days of Musalmán rule, Tilláṛah had not altogether lost its pristine importance. Hwen Thsang tells us a good deal about the splendour of the Tilláṛah monastery, when he visited it in February, 637 A.D.* He writes:—"The convent of Tilláṛah has four courtyards, and is ornamented with verandahs, three-storied pavillions, lofty towers, and a series of gates. It was built by the last scion of the house of Bimbisára, who was a man of more than ordinary attainments, and who assembled around him men of talent and worth for every quarter. Men of letters from distant countries flocked there in crowds. There are a thousand recluses here who study the doctrine of the Greater Vessel. In the road which leads to the eastern gate, there are three viháras, each of them surmounted by a cupola hung with bells. These buildings are several stories high, and are surmounted by balustrades. The doors, windows, rafters, columns, etc., are covered with bas-reliefs in gilded copper, decorated with still choicer ornaments. A casket of relics is deposited in each vihára. From time to time a supernatural light proceeds from these, and wonders and marvels occur there." The site of this once magnificent pile of buildings is now marked by an enormous mound of irregular shape, near the banks of the Sonánadí, about fifty feet high, and covered, I regret to say, with Muhammadan tombs. Nearly every grave that has been dug there, has yielded some specimen of Buddhistic art, and idols of brass and basalt are constantly found there. I have secured some very beautiful specimens of the latter, but the former are sold as soon as discovered and quickly converted into the heavy 'batísí' and 'kaṛa' which decorate (?) the wrists and ancles of the women of the lower castes of the Hindús. Few places in India, I feel sure, would yield more archæological treasure than this great Tilláṛah mound, and a shaft might be very well cut through it, without interfering with or in any way injuring the tombs on its surface.

At the eastern side of the village is a large masjid raised by a platform a few feet above the surrounding plains. This platform is composed almost entirely of pillars, portions of cornice, etc., which once belonged to some great Buddhist temple. The building is surrounded by a brick wall, and the enclosure is entered by a porch facing the east, both doors of which are purely Buddhistic. One bears an inscription of two lines, but is so much defaced as to be quite illegible. The word 'Samvat,' however, is decipherable. The masjid itself consists of one oblong chamber forty-one feet by twenty-two broad, the roof of which, is supported by three rows of pillars numbering fourteen in the centre of the building, while several others are almost com-

* Mémoires, Vol. II., p. 439.

pletely imbedded in the brick work. The roof is nine feet six inches above the floor. Most of the pillars are about six feet six inches high, and have separate capitals and bases. They are surmounted by long stone beams placed transversely, which in turn support the roof consisting of huge slabs of granite and basalt. The pillars are of great variety of shape and design. Some are square, both at the capital, base, and shaft; others have square bases and capitals but simple octagon shafts, while others again are oval and covered with the richest ornament. Most of these exhibit great freedom of design, and several of them are of the most graceful form. The 'Sangí Masjid' (as it is popularly called) was built on the site of a Buddhist temple, and nearly all the graves dug around it, have yielded either figures, pillars, or portions of cornice and moulding. The Musalmán of Tillárah refuses to bury in any tomb from which any idolatrous image or carving has been turned up, and for this reason a grave has sometimes to be dug three or four times over. Just outside the gate of the Sangí Masjid, a man pointed out a spot, which he said had been dug out for his father's grave, and subsequently abandoned because a large image had been found there. I ordered an excavation to be made in the place indicated, and came on a splendid figure of Buddha, unfortunately broken in three pieces, about four feet from the surface. The black basalt in which it was carved, is of the finest quality, and the features quite perfect. It has been photographed. Outside the doors of the masjid is a second enclosure containing the tomb of Sayyid Yúsuf Iqbál, a Muhammadan saint who lived in Tillárah about two hundred and fifty years ago. He and his six brothers are greatly respected and revered by the Musalmáns of the Tillárah district, and the tombs of the latter are to be found at the villages of Meáwan, Mandáj, Abdálpur, Fathpúr, Parbalpúr, and Bíbípúr.

Down to the time of Akbar, Tillárah was a place of some considerable importance, and the capital of one of the largest parganahs between the Rájgir hills and the Ganges. Its area is in the *Áín-i-Akbarí* stated to be 39,053 bíghahs, and its revenue 2,920,360 dáms. It also had to furnish a force of 300 cavalry and 20 infantry.

Some of the finest figures and carvings in my collection come from the Tillárah monastery. I extract a description of them from my catalogue [No. LXII.]. Unmutilated alto-relievo figure in fine black basalt, two feet seven inches high, holding a lotus in either hand. On the head is a jewelled crown, conical in shape, with curious ornaments behind the ears. The hair is dressed in profuse ringlets. A garland passes over the left shoulder across the body. The earrings consist of two parts—a jewelled ring, passed through an oval hoop. There is a jewelled girdle around the waist. The body is covered with a tight jacket, having an ornamental facing. The legs are covered with pantaloons, and the feet with boots. A sword is girded below

the left thigh. Between the feet is a small grotesque booted figure, gathering up a set of reins in his hands and waving a whip over his shoulders. Below this is a row of seven horses galloping from left to right, and drawing a chariot. On the other side of the main figure are attendants, standing booted, and wearing curious caps and circular earrings. Above these, diminutive female figures are seen, discharging arrows right and left. The figure may be either Hindú or Buddhist." The next figure [LXIV.] is purely Hindú (for at Tilláṛah as in the Nálandá ruins Hindú and Buddhist idols are mixed together). Like the one last described, it is unbroken. It is "an alto-relievo in black basalt two feet four inches high, containing figures of Durgá and Siva. Siva is four-handed, and is elaborately dressed and ornamented. He is seated on a bull. The upper hand to the right grasps a lotus, while the other rests playfully on the chin of the goddess. His lower hand on the opposite side passes round her body and supports her left breast. The one above it grasps a trident. His right leg is turned outwards to the right, but the left one is twisted over the bull's head, so that the right leg of the goddess rests upon it. Her right hand passes round his neck, while the left grasps a mirror. She is seated on a lion. In *his* right ear is a circular ring and in his left an oblong drop. In her case the arrangement is reversed. His hair is rolled up into a ball first, while hers is dressed almost precisely after the fashion of George IInd's time." Another figure represents a *twelve*-handed goddess (quite perfect) with a Buddha seated in the hair. Each hand contains some weapon or ornament, *e. g.*, a string of beads, an arrow, &c. The creed is engraved above. This idol is unique as far as Bihár is concerned.

About four miles south-east of Tilláṛah is a village called Ongarí, in which there is a splendid tank called the Súraj Pok'har. To the north of it there is a temple containing an image of Surjya, and a pit of broken Buddhist figures. Under a heap of bricks and rubbish, I picked out two idols of great beauty and differing essentially in design from those generally found.

About a mile and a half from Ongarí, across the rice fields to the south, are the remains of a large town, called Biswak or Biswa. Like Tilláṛah, this place gave its name to a parganah which, according to the Ấín-i-Akbarí, once contained 35,318 bíghahs, and which stretches away nearly as far east as the banks of the Panchána. There are two enormous tanks to the east of the village, and two mud forts of considerable size and antiquity. To the north of the first tank is a long line of tumuli, which mark the site of some large Buddhist vihára. I cleared away one end of it, and came on a perfect heap of figures, some of them quite unique. With one exception (that of an idol of Ganesh) all the remains discovered by me were purely Buddhistic. One figure is eight-handed and somewhat resembles the many-handed divinity of Tilláṛah, and another is a Padmopáni Buddda nearly life-

size. Besides the figures, I dug out a *charana* almost like these of Rája-gríha.

Islámpúr is about four miles to the south-west of Biswak and is still a very flourishing town, doing a good trade in rice and tobacco, and affording a resting-place for the pilgrims who pass down in great numbers from the north of Bengal en route for Gayá. To the extreme west of the village I lighted on the remains of a large vihára, many of the granite columns of which still exist intact, but I regret to say that the bulk of the building was pulled down some years ago by the zamíndár of the place, one Chaudhri Zuhúrul Haq, to construct the platform of his new masjid, and I am told cart-loads of figures, &c., were used for the same purpose. The old men of the place remember the time when the building was intact, and say it resembled very much the 'Sangí Masjid' of Tillárah and contained a Nágarí inscription, and a great deal of sculpture. About a mile south-west of Islámpúr, is a small village called Icchos, which was doubtless the site of a great Buddhist temple and vihára. I found the remains of a tope close to the old mud fort, and saw in a garden a great figure of the ascetic Buddha, nearly six feet high. A short distance off, I found the remains of two very fine basalt columns, the largest piece being still six feet long. The base is 2 feet high and 1½ feet broad. Next to it comes a circular band or ornament one foot four inches wide, each corner being decorated by a sprig of very elaborate scroll work, the stone behind which is hollowed out leaving the inner circle unbroken. This is a constant feature in Buddhist pillars, and I found a miniature reproduction of this column at Logání, a mile to the north of Bihár. Above the ornament in question, the shaft becomes octagon and there is a lion-rampant at each of the four corners. This portion of the pillar is two feet in height, and is decorated with small arched canopies and pillars about a foot high, surmounted by fork-shaped pieces of scroll work. Above this is second line of niches. The quality of the stone is very fine and holes have been rubbed in its base by persons who imagine its touch a sovereign remedy for swollen necks and throats! One mile south-west of Icchos is a large village called Mubárak-púr. To the south is a large tank and at its north-west corner a huge mound marking the site of a temple or vihára of great importance. I moved away a great portion of the rubbish and succeeded in recovering a large quantity of very beautiful figures. Notably I may mention a basalt arch, with a gurgoyle face for its (supposed) keystone and long lines of rich carving right and left, a figure of Jama, with a background of flames, and a large mixture of Hindú and Buddhist idols, more than forty in number. Several of there were unfinished, and others scarcely begun. For this reason, I suppose Mubárakpúr to have been the site of a the sculptor's studio.

About 300 yards to the south of the Mubárakpúr ruins is a village known as Afzalpúr Sarunda. Here again are the remains of a tope now

covered by a mud fort. To the south of the village is another large tank and I found several Buddhistic figures on its banks. To the west of it is a fine uncultivated plain studded with mangoe groves and stretching away as far as the eye can reach to the distant hills of Barábar. In the western outskirts of the plain, and not far from the side of the tank, are the marks of a large tumulus, and several Buddhist figures surround it. Following a road for about a mile to the south across the plain, I came quite suddenly on a large tumulus on the outskirts of a village, the name of which is Láṭ. About a hundred yards to the east of this place, in the midst of a rice field lies an enormous column hewn from a single stone—*fifty-two feet in length.* The base is square, and seven feet long by three broad ; the capital is of the same shape, but is five feet long and four broad. The shaft has sixteen sides, each about six inches in breadth. There is not a vestige of a temple or building in this plain of rice, fields, in fact one might almost say as appropriately of it, as of the Sundarbán, that " there is no stone big enough there to throw at a dog." The appearance of this enormous solitary column lying by itself, half buried in the sandy soil which surrounds it, is very striking. The villagers of Láṭ [the vernacular for ' a pillar'] have their own story about their venerated deity (for púja is daily offered to it), and it is as follows. More than a thousand years ago Sibai Singh reigned in Tirhut, having Darbhangah for his capital. The king's servants were martial men of the Rájpúṭ caste, and his favourite was a soldier named Ranjít Singh. One day the king went to see the progress of the works at a tank which he was excavating near his palace, and Ranjit Singh was of his guards. The king and his companions began to throw up the earth and assist the workmen at their labour, but Ranjit stood aloof leaning on his spear. This provoked the king who began to chide him for his indifference. The soldier replied, ' I am by caste a Khatria, my business is to fight or to execute any great commission you may entrust me with—not to dig or build.' On this the king wrote a letter to the prince of Ceylon, who was no other than the mighty Rában, and requested him to send two colossal pillars for the new tanks.* The execution of this order was made over to Ranjít Singh. Taking the letter, Ranjít made his way to the " golden island of the south," and having procured the pillars, enlisted the aid of the " dhúts," or supernatural messengers to convey them to Tirhut. These, although possessed of enormous strength could only travel by night. The first reached Darbhangah in safety, but the bearers of the second tarried at Sarunda to get oil for their torches, and the dawn breaking upon

* To place a large pillar in the centre of a tank was a custom of the times. In a great tank just outside Bihár there is a column about twenty feet high still standing. This custom has hardly ceased to prevail. General Claude Martin erected a colossal pillar in the middle of the artificial lake which faces the Indo-Italian palace which he built in Lakhnau.

them suddenly they fled, leaving their burden in the open plain." It is said that the kings of Darbhangah have often tried in vain to raise the Láṭ. Mitarjít Singh (who was alive in the time of Lord Cornwallis) spent large sums in endeavouring to remove it, but was at last deterred by an apparition of the pillar, which warned him in a dream that the accomplishment of his purpose would lead to his certain destruction. The village regard the Láṭ with the most superstitions veneration and declare the last time it was polluted by the touch of an unbeliever, the villagers were promptly visited a conflagration.

About a mile to the south-east of the Láṭ is a village called Dápthú, the site of a great mass of ruined temples, of which a long account is given in Montgomery Martin's 'Gya and Shahabad,' pp. 97-100. I quote it in detail merely for the purpose of illustrating how quickly buildings, even of the most solid description, disappear, under the influence of the varying seasons of an Indian climate.

"Immediately west from the temple called Parasnath is a line of four temples running north and south. The two extreme temples of this line are said to be those of Kanaiya, the images of which entirely resemble those usually called Lakshmí Náráyan or Vásúdeva, and are very large. I believe that those which have two attendants on each side are usually called by the former name, and those which have only one attendant as this, are called by the latter, but I did not at first attend to the distinction, and cannot say whether or not it is generally observed. The temple furthest north consists of one chamber supported by antique columns of granite.

"The brick work had fallen and was rebuilt by Rájá Mitrajít's grandfather, but has again decayed a great deal. The door is of stone and is highly ornamented. The original sides remain, but the lintel has been removed, and its place supplied by one of the sides of the door of Parasnath which will perhaps show that before the repair was given, the temple had been so long a ruin that its door had been lost. The southern temple of Kanaiya is an entire ruin, but the image remains in its place.

"The central temple next to this is the most entire, and contains a large image, called Surya, and very nearly similar to that of Akbarpúr. On one side is placed the usual figure called Lakshmí Náráyan. The temple consists of a flat-roofed natmundir porch, or propylacrum and of a pyramidical shrine or mundir. The roof of the former consists of long stones supported by stone beams and these by columns. The interstices of the outer rows are filled with bricks to complete the walls.

"The shrine, except the door is constructed entirely of brick. Both the door of the shrine and the stone-work of the porch are of much greater antiquity than the parts that consist of brick, which have probably been several times renewed; but there is no appearance that the image or stone-

work has ever undergone alteration; and this seems to be by far the most ancient temple of the district that still remains tolerably entire. ......The porch consists of four rows of columns, the interstices between the two outermost of which, as I have said, are filled up with bricks to form the walls. Round the porch, but not built into the wall, have been placed a row of small images intended as an ornament and not at all consecrated to worship.

"They were placed in the following order:—A Surya similar to that worshipped, Jagadamba, as usual killing a man and a buffalo, a Haragauri as usual, a Ganes dancing as that at Dinajpur, another Haragauri as usual, a Lukshmi Narain or Vasudeva, as usual; another Surya; a male called Vishnu, like Vasudeva but in armour; one called Gauri Sankar represents a male sitting between two females and leaning one foot on a crocodile. There is here neither bull nor lion as in the common Gauri Sankar, or Haragauri. Another Ganes, another Gauri Sankar or Haragauri. Another Ganes; another Gauri Sankar, or Haragauri, another Ganesa, another Gauri Sankar like the last, a Narasingha in the form usual in the ancient temples of this district, a strange male figure, called Trinikrama Avatar, which I have seen nowhere else; a female sitting on a bull and leaning on a porcine head which is called Varaha, but is quite different from that so-called at Baragang, nor have I seen it anywhere else; although among such immense numbers of images as are scattered through this district, many may have escaped my notice.

"On the outside of the door is a very curious sculpture, which is called Bhairau, but seems to me to represent a prince riding out to hunt the antelope. He is accompanied by archers, musicians, targeteers, women, dogs, &c. The animal on which he rides is by the natives called a sheep, but I presume, was intended to represent a horse. The last temple of the place immediately north to that of Surjya is an entire ruin, and has contained an enormous linga, before which is placed the form of Gauri Sankar that is common at the place."

To the south of the village of Dápthú is a large dried up tank, now a flourishing rice field. To the north of this is a huge mound covered with the densest jungle. I made an excavation through it, and found a colossal figure of Vishnu somewhat mutilated, and a doorway of great beauty. This has been photographed. It consists of three pieces. The two lintels are ornamented with boldly executed mouldings to the right and left, and towards the centre by lines of figures, apparently those of dancers and musicians. The chief feature of the upper cornice is a crowd of figures supporting a crown, extended over some object of veneration, which has been too much mutilated to admit of description. The musical instruments, dresses, etc., are precisely those of the present day.

Along the western side of the tank are the remains of a row of temples, four in number, of which two have yielded completely to the ravages of decay, and the sites of which are only marked by mounds of earth, broken pillars, and fragments of idols. The second temple still remains in a tolerable state of preservation, and the fourth, although very dilapidated, is still perfect enough to allow the spectator to form a correct idea of its size and proportions. The second temple of the row is built of bricks, rather smaller than those of Bargáon, and faces the east. There is a stone cornice at the top, and the entrance consists merely of a narrow opening in the brick work. This leads to a court or porch, twenty-three feet square, and ten high, as measured from the inside. The roof consists of long slabs of grey stone laid from east to west and covered with a thick layer of plaster. This is supported by sixteen columns, twelve of which are almost entirely imbedded in the brick work, while four are as near as possible in the centre of the building. These pillars have square bases and capitals and octagon shafts, and are surmounted by separate capitals oblong in shape, being about four feet in length, and about a foot thick. Various idols are grouped around the chamber. There is a distance of about six feet between the pillars. At the west end of the room is a very finely carved doorway (of which Montogomery Martin's drawing conveys a very incorrect idea). It measures seven feet five inches in width. The pillars on either side are two feet wide, and six feet high, and the slab which surmounts them is of about the same size. The whole is covered with a very beautiful geometrical pattern. The actual doorway is only two feet nine inches wide. It leads to a small chamber eight feet square, the roof of which has fallen in, but which I suppose was once covered by a dome or cupola. This contains a large *booted* figure of Surjya much mutilated, and a very perfect one of Vishnu, similar to those recovered from Bargáon, and now in my collection.

The whole building resembles most strongly the Buddhist temple discovered by me on the Baibhár hill at Rájgriha, of which a full description has been given in Chapter IV. Strange to say, I only found two purely Buddhist images amongst the ruins of Dápthú; but I have little doubt the temples were originally intended for Buddhist worship, and this is confirmed by the fact that several figures [most probably of Buddhas] appear to have been *deliberately removed* from the ornamentation of the doorway found by me in the mound to the north of the dried-up tank. The other temple has no inner room, but is otherwise similar in shape to the first. The lintels of the door (now fallen down) are very fine, and are almost identical with specimens from Náländá in my collection.

Two miles to the south-east of Dápthú is another village, called Sarthua, where I found the remains of a tope (nearly levelled by time) and a figure of Buddha, now in my collection, and rather larger than life. It is in the

usual attitude, and the Buddhist creed is inscribed over the halo which surrounds its head. Four miles east of Sarthua is a place called Mahmúda, once the site of a vihára. There is a large mound of bricks to the east of the village, at the top of which several granite columns have been collected and arranged, forming as it were a miniature reproduction of the Sangí Masjid at Tillárah. Leaving this village, and going seven miles to the north-east, I arrived at a hamlet called Sawra, which is exactly two miles to the south-west of the site of the once great Nálandá monastery—the modern village of Bargáon. We can now begin to trace again the foot-steps of Hwen Thsang, whom we left at Tillárah setting out for the Gunamati monastery, the sacred Pípal tree of Bodh-Gya, and the other holy places to the west and south of the mountains of Rájagriha. We must now suppose for a moment that he has finished his inspection of the ruins of Kuságárapúra, and having arrived within the precincts of "our sacred mother Nálandá," is describing the neighbourhood of the convent.* "Au sud-ouest de Nálanda il fit huit à neuf li, et arriva à la ville de Koulika. Au centre s'élevait un stoûpa qui avait été bâti par le roi Açoka. C'était le pays natal du vénérable Mogalan-pouttra. A côté de cette ville il y a un stoûpa. Ce fut dans cet endroit que le vénérable Mogalan-pouttra entra dans le nirvana définitif; le stoûpa renferme les reliques de son corps." *This spot can be most satisfactorily identified with Sawra.* I found there the remains of a large stúpa and nine very perfect Buddhist idols. I again return to the pilgrim's narrative.† "Après avoir fait quelque li à l'est du pays de Mogalan-pouttra il rencontra un stoûpa." This must be Jagdespúr—one mile to the east of Sawra. This is strangely confirmed by the existence of an enormous tumulus there, together with a gigantic alto-relievo figure of Buddha, now worshipped as the goddess Rukhmini. Hwen Thsang then seems to have gone twenty lis to the south-east‡ and to have arrived at the town of Kalápinika. "On y voit au centre," he writes, "un stoûpa bâti par le roi Açôka; c'était le pays natal du vénérable Çaripouttra. Le puits de sa maison existe encore aujourd'hui. A côté du puits il y a un stoûpa. Ce fut-là que le vénérable Çaripouttra entra dans le nirvana. Un monument renferme les reliques de son corps." *This corresponds almost exactly with the position of Chandímau, four miles south-east of Nálandá.* This singularly picturesque spot is situated about two miles from the foot of the Rájagriha hills and near the banks of the Panchána. The surrounding country is well-wooded, and a beautiful tank forms the western boundary of the village, which possesses a large mud fort, said to have been built early in the last century by Kámdár Khán Maín of Rájágriha. To the south of the tank is the ruin of a stúpa, near which I found a pile of Buddhist idols—most of them much mutilated. I recovered, however, one very fine figure of Buddha, the description of

* Mémoires, Tom. II., p. 51. † Mémoires, p. 51. ‡ Idem, p. 54.

which I quote from my catalogue. [XV.] Statue of Buddha, in black basalt, five feet three inches high, seated on a throne, divided into two portions. The upper consists of a double row of lotus leaves, and the lower is divided into five compartments—containing representations of devotees at either corner—then two lions-couchant and, in the centre, the Wheel of the Law supported by a deer on either side. The figure is seated in the attitude of meditation. The head is surrounded by an elaborate halo, above which rises a three branched pípal tree; on either side of the head is a seated Buddha, and on either side of the body, two attendants each two feet high, and most elaborately dressed. The one to the right has a diminutive Buddha, seated in the hair, which is twisted into a point. These figures are very richly ornamented with a spangled "dhútí," and highly wrought bangles and necklace. The usual flower garland surrounds the body, and a lotus is grasped in the left hand." A little further to the east, I came on another large heap of Buddhist carvings—door lintels, chaityas, etc., and the pieces of an enormous Buddha as large as the Telia Bhandár at Nálandá, or the Srí Bullum Buddha at Titráwan. About half a mile to the south-west is another village—Kalyánpúr. There I also found ruins of more Buddhist buildings, and a number of idols. The principal of these was that of a goddess, five feet high and seated on a throne, almost exactly similar to that just now described. The figure is eight-handed and the breasts are mutilated. The waist is encircled by an elaborately sculptured girdle, from the centre of which a chain and jewel depends over the pedestal. A star patterned garment descends from the waist as far as the ankles of both feet. The left foot depends from the throne, and rests on a lotus blossom, supported by the head and arms of an attendant, while a second devotee holds a flower in his hand a short distance off. An elaborate ornament encircles the neck and the lower part of the arms. The hair is gathered up in a chignon on the top of the head, but ultimately falls in ringlets over the shoulders. Several of the hands are mutilated. The upper hand on the right side grasps a circular shield, and the wrist is decorated by two bangles. The second wrist is encircled by a 'batísí.' The third hand (having three bangles on the wrist) grasps a bow and the fourth a shell. The lower hand on the right side rests on the right knee; the next holds a sword, and has one bangle on the wrist. The third is ornamented with the batísí, and the fourth, having two bangles or armlets on the wrist, is in the act of drawing an arrow from the quiver. On either side of the heads are two attendants holding scrolls or garlands. Around the large figure were strewn innumerable fragments of Buddhas of all sizes. Three miles to the south-east of Kalyánpúr, one arrives at the foot of the Indra-Saila hill, which rises from the bank of the Panchána river, just above the village of Giryak. Here again there is little difficulty in following the steps of Hwen Thsang,

and I cannot do better than quote his own words.* "A l'est du stoûpa du Çaripoutra il fit environ trente li et arriva à une montagne appelée Indra-çilá-gouha. Les cavernes et les vallées de cette montagne sont ténébreuses : des bois fleuris la couvrent d' une riche végétation. Sur le passage supérieur de cette montagne s'élévent deux pics isolés. Dans une caverne du pic méridional il y a une grande maison taillée dans le roc : celle est large et basse. ...... Sur le pic oriental il y a un couvent. Devant le couvent il y a un stoûpa qu' on appelle Hansa-sánghárama."

VI.—The Indra Saila Peak.

The range of rocky hills, which run in a north-easterly direction nearly forty miles, abruptly ends at Giryak. The foot of the mountain is washed by the waters of the Pancháma river, which here leaves the Hisua-Nowáḍa valley, and slowly makes its way southwards through the Bihár plain to the Ganges. On the east side of the river is an enormous mass of ruins, which appears to mark the site of a Muhammadan town and fort, which tradition holds to have been built by Kámdár Khán Maiṉ nearly two centuries ago, to defend the fertile fields of Bihar from the frequent incursions of the predatory Rajwárs. Above the western bank rise the two precipitous peaks which crown the Indra-Saila hill. The reader will remember that in speaking of Rájgir I described a narrow ravine which stretched away to the east between Udayagir on the south, and Ratnagir and the Devaghát hill on the north. This valley terminates at Giryak, about a mile to the south-west of the Indra Saila peak. From the northern side of this mountain, a rocky hill—the Masellia-pahár, (as the Rájwárs call it)—runs to the south-west, having almost a semi-circular shape. This hill meets the off-shoot of Udayagir, from which it is only separated by a passage, far narrower than that of the Banganga. The face of the Masellia-pahár near the pass is almost a sheer cliff, but towards the centre of the hill the ascent is more gradual, and it was therefore fortified by a wall sixteen feet thick, which follows closely the shape of the mountain. The eastern entrance to the Valley of the Five Hills seems, therefore, to have been quite as strongly fortified, both by art and nature as the Bangangá and Rajagriha gates. It is about three hundred feet from the plain, and just above the entrance of the ravine that the Gidda-dwâr cave is situated. Seen from below, it looks like a small hole in the rock. Its entrance is gained with difficulty, for the last eight feet of the cliff are perpendicular, and have been faced by a stone wall, the remains of which are tolerably entire. This combination of the natural and the artificial reminds one forcibly of the front of the Sattapánni cave on the Baibhár hill. The entrance to the cavern is sixteen or seventeen feet wide, and its roof semi-circular in shape. There is an outer chamber forty feet long, from which a fissure in the rock appears to lead to the interior of the hill,

* Idem. pp. 54-5.

but abruptly terminates at a distance of sixty or seventy feet from the entrance. This shows the tradition which makes the fissure in question a subterranean passage leading to a tower on the Indra-Saila hill to be perfectly erroneous. The atmosphere in the cave is most oppressive and, in addition to its being the home of a motley tribe of vultures and kites, a sulphureous smell proceeds from the rock which has a sickening effect on the explorer. Crossing the mountain in a north-easterly direction and passing over the wall [popularly called 'Jarásandha's band'], one comes quite suddenly on the eastern peak of the Indra-Saila mountain. This is crowned with a stone platform, about twenty-five feet high, one hundred and fifty long and one hundred broad, which appears to have been the site of a large vihára and the usual temple. The wall of the vihára towards the east is still tolerably entire, and was originally composed of enormous bricks similar to those found at Nálandá and Rájagriha. Besides this wall, the remains of the temple towards the western end can clearly be traced, and several granite pillars in the vestibule are still erect. The whole of these ruins should be carefully excavated at the expense of Government, for the vihára in question was one of great importance and antiquity. I shall afterwards have occasion to refer to the monastery again, when I come to speak of it in relation to Hwen Thsang's visit to the Indra-Saila hill. From the eastern door of the vihára a broad stone staircase or roadway leads to the eastern peak, which is crowned by a brick tower, sixty-five feet in circumference and about twenty-five feet high. This edifice is generally described as the *baiṭhak*, or resting-place, of Jarásandha, and the Asura prince is stated in popular tradition to have been accustomed to sit on this throne of brick while he bathed his feet in the Panchána torrent a thousand feet below. The length of the staircase connecting the two peaks is four hundred feet. The eastern peak is called by the country people Mámúbhagna, or Phúlwária pahár—the western, Hawélia-Pahár. This brick tower rests on a square platform, now a mass of ruins, and there appears to have been a vault or well in the centre. I have not the slightest doubt that the so-called tower is in reality the remains of a stúpa, the outer portions of which have been ruined and removed by time. A deep inscision has been made in the base, but I believe nothing was found there except a packet of Buddhist seals in wax. To the south-west of the stúpa are the remains of an artificial tank or reservoir, about one hundred feet square. This is popularly supposed to have been Jarásandha's flower-garden. From the ruins which crown the summit of the hill, a stone staircase or road leads to the plains beneath. This first stretches down the south side of the hill to a distance of three hundred feet, when one suddenly comes on a small stone stúpa; it then turns to the east, and after traversing a distance of sixteen hundred feet, I arrived at a spot where there are the ruins of a stúpa on either side of the path. Just

at this place there is a sort of plateau, which is crowned by the remains of a perfect cluster of topes. The path then continues to traverse the east side of the hill (passing two small modern temples containing footprints or *charanas* of Vishnu), and at a distance of eight hundred feet reaches the banks of the Panchána.

Dr. Buchanan visited Giryak nearly half a century ago, and a glance at his remarks will show the devastation which an Indian climate can bring about in a comparatively short time.*

" I now proceed to describe the ruins on Girebraja or Giriyak hill. The original ascent to this is from the north-east, and from the bottom to the summit may be traced the remains of a road about twelve feet wide, which has been paved with large masses of stone cut from the hill, and winds in various directions to procure an ascent of moderate declivity. When entire a palanquin might have perhaps been taken up and down; but the road would have been dangerous for horses and impracticable for carriages. In many places it has now been entirely swept away. I followed its windings along the north side of the hill, until I reached the ridge opposite to a small tank excavated on two sides from the rock and built on the other two with the fragments that have been cut. The ridge here is very narrow, extends east and west, and rises gently from the tank towards both ends, but most towards the west, and a paved causeway five hundred feet long and forty wide, extends its whole length. At the west end of this causeway is a very steep slope of brick, twenty feet high and one hundred and seven feet wide. I ascended this, by what appeared to have been a stair, as I thought that I could perceive a resemblance to the remains of two or three of the steps. Above this ascent is a large platform surrounded by a ledge, and this has probably been an open area, one hundred and eighty-six feet from east to west by one hundred and fourteen feet from north to south, and surrounded by parapet wall. At its west end, I think, I can trace a temple in the usual form of a mandir, or shrine, and natmandir, or porch. The latter has been twenty-six feet deep by forty-eight wide. The foundation of the north-east corner is still entire, and consists of bricks about eighteen inches long, nine wide, and two thick, and cut smooth by the chisel, so that the masonry has been neat. The bricks are laid in clay mortar. Eight of the pillars that supported the roof of this porch project from among the ruins. They are of granite which must have been brought from a distance. They are nearly of the same rude order with those in the temple of Buddha Sen at Kanyadol and nearly of the same size having been about ten feet long, but their shafts are in fact hexagons, the two angles only on one side of the quadrangle having been truncated. The more ornamented side has probably been placed towards the centre of the building, while the plain side has faced the wall. The mandir

* Montgomery Martin's 'Gya and Sháhábád.'

has probably been solid like those of the Buddhists, no sort of cavity being perceptible, and it seems to have been a cone placed on a quadrangular base, forty-five feet square and as high as the natmandir. The cone is very much reduced, and even the base has been decayed into a mere heap of bricks. On its south side in the area by which it is surrounded, has been a small quadrangular building, the roof of which has been supported by pillars of granite, three of which remain. Beyond the mandir to the west is a semi-circular terrace which appears to have been artificially sloped away, very steep towards the sides and to have been about fifty-one feet in diameter. The cutting down the sides of this terrace seems to have left a small plain at its bottom, and an excavation has been made in this, in order probably to procure materials.

"Returning now to the small tank and proceeding east along the causeway, it brings us to a semi-circular platform about thirty feet in radius, on which is another conical building quite ruined. East from thence and adjacent is an area forty-five feet square, the centre of which is occupied by a low square pedestal twenty-five feet square divided on the sides by compartments like the pannelling on wainscot, and terminating in a neat cornice. On this pedestal, rises a solid column of brick sixty-eight feet in circumference. About thirty feet up, this column has been surrounded by various mouldings, not ungraceful, which have occupied about fifteen feet, beyond which what remains of the column, perhaps ten feet, is quite plain. A deep cavity has been made into the column probably in search of treasure, and this shows that the building is solid. It has been constructed of bricks cemented by clay, and the outside has been smoothed with a chisel and not plastered. Part of the original smooth surface remains entire, especially on the east side. The weather on the west side has produced much injury. To the east of the area in which this pillar stands, is a kind of small level, called the flower-garden of Jarásandha, an idea perfectly ridiculous, the extent being miserable, and the whole a barren arid rock."

This description of the ruins of the so-called tower, written when it was far less dilapidated than it is at present, confirms me in my opinion that the original building was a stúpa.

The ruins on the Giryak hill are undoubtedly identical with the religious edifices visited and described by Hwen Thsang. The subject is at once so important, and so interesting, that I quote from him in full.

"Après avoir fait encore trente li à l'est, il arriva à la montagne appelée In-to'-lo-chi-lo-kiu-ho-chan (Indra-cilâ-gouhâ).

"Devant le couvent *du pic oriental* de la montagne, il y a *un stoûpa.* Ce couvent s'appelle Seng-so-kia-làn (Hañsa Sanghárâma). Jadis les religieux de ce couvent suivaient la doctrine du petit Véhicule, appelée la doctrine graduelle, et faisaient usage des trois aliments purs. Un jour, le Bhikchou,

qui était l'économe du couvent n'ayant pu se procurer les provisions nécessaires, se trouva dans la plus grande perplexité. Il vit en un moment une troupe d'oies qui volaient dans les airs. Les ayant regardées un instant, il s'écria en riant :

" Aujourd'hui, la pitance des religieux manque complètement ; *mahásattvas* (nobles êtres), il faut que vous ayez égard aux circonstances."*

" A peine avait-il achevé ces mots, que le chef de la troupe tomba du haut des nuages, comme si on lui eût coupé les ailes, et vint rouler au pied du Bhikchou (de l'économe). Celui-ci rempli de confusion et de crainte, en informa ses confrères, qui ne purent lui répondre qu'en versant des larmes et en poussant des sanglots : Cet oiseau, dirent-ils entre eux, était un Bódhisattva ! et nous, comment oserions-nous le manger ? Quand Jou-lai (le Tathágata) a établi ses préceptes, il a voulu par degrés nous détourner du mal. Mais nous, nous nous sommes attachés à ses premières paroles, qui n'avaient d'autre but que de nous attirer d'abord à lui, et nous les avons prises pour une doctrine définitive. Insensés que nous sommes ! nous n'avons pas osé changer de conduite, et par là, nous avons causé la mort de cet oiseau. Dorénavant, il faut suivre le grand Véhicule, et ne plus manger uniquement des trois aliments purs.

" Alors ils firent construire une tour sacrée, y déposèrent le corps de l'oie (hañsa), et l'ornèrent d'une inscription, pour transmettre à la postérité le souvenir de son pieux dévouement. Telle fut l'origine de cette tour."

In the " Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales," the account varies but little from that which I have quoted from the older volume. The writer here tells us that the pilgrim went 30 lis from the stúpa of Sáriputra (*i. e.*, from Chandímau), and arrived at the Indra-saila hill. The valleys and caves of the hill were gloomy, but its sides were covered with luxuriant vegetation. The summit of the mountain was crowned by two peaks, and in the western one was a great chamber hewn in the rock. This answers with tolerable accuracy to the position of the Gidda-dwâr cave. He then proceeds to tell the same story of the miraculous forty-two questions which Fah Hiyan relates of the " isolated rock" of Bihár.

In my opinion General Cunningham's supposition that both hills are the same, is based on insufficient data, especially as one is called in Chinese *Siao-kou-shy-shan* (*i. e.*, the Bihár rock) and the other *Yn-tho-lo-shi-lo-kin-ho*, (*i. e.*, the Giryak hill),† which certainly seem to be far from one and the same thing. Putting aside all question as to position or language, I maintain that a glance at a description of the two hills will shew them to be entirely different. " *Siao-kau-shy-shan*" is distinctly stated to be the *little mountain of the solitary rock*,‡ while *Yn-*

* Vie de Hwen Thsang, p. 161-3.
† Laidley's Fa Hiyan, p. 265.
‡ do. do., p. 264.

tho-lo-shi-lo-kin-ho (otherwise rendered, *In-t'o-lo-chi-lo-kin-ho-chan*) is spoken of as *a lofty mountain with* " *cavernes et vallées ténébreuses.*"* In the one there is *no cave*—in the other *there is.*

I shall speak further on this subject, when I come to discuss the identification of Bihár, and hope to adduce such arguments as will put the matter beyond the possibility of doubt.

However this may be, it is quite certain that the great vihára of the Wild Goose was one of the most sacred, and most popular of the Buddhist mountain-monasteries. I find it distinctly mentioned in the inscription of the Ghosráwan Vihára, which dates from about the 9th century of our era. From it we learn that the pious Viradeva, after the completion of numerous acts of religious merit, " erected two crest-jewels in the shape of chaityas on the crown of Indra-saila peak, for the good of the world."

We must now wend our way towards the convents of the north-east of Bihár.

VII.—The Monasteries of Ghosra'wan and Titra'wan.

The village of Ghosráwan lies exactly six miles to the north-east of the Indra-saila peak at Giryak, eight miles to the east of the great Nálandá monastery, seven miles south-east of the " isolated rock" of Bihár, and ten miles north-east of the ruins of Rájagriha. Although the Buddhist remains found at this place are of great interest, and the inscription, which lay amongst the débris of its once magnificent vihára, is of more than ordinary importance, the name of Ghosráwan does not appear either in the pages of Buchanan or in those of the ' Ancient Geography of India.' The modern village is inhabited almost entirely by men of the Bhában caste, who distinguished themselves by a small mutiny on their own account during the horrors of 1857, which ended in the total destruction of the village by fire, and the exile of a great portion of the insurgents. Although many years have since passed away, and the poppy and rice lands which surround it, are as luxuriant and fertile as ever, Ghosráwan has never recovered its prosperity, and roofless tenements and blackened ruins still tell the story of this " seven-days war." The Bhábans, which form such an important component of Bihár society, take their origin, according to tradition, from the days of Jarásandha's rule in Rájagriha, and are, down to the present time, as turbulent and litigious as history represents them to have been in former years.

The character of the caste has been severely handled by the national proverbs of the Biháris ;† and I cite two of them below, for they are interest-

* Vie de Hwen Thsang, p. 161.

† بابھن کتا ہاتھی تینون ذات کا گھاتی

Bhábans, dogs, and elephants are always fighting amongst themselves.

سیل سوت ھوبنس لے بیچ گنگ کی دھار اتلے بابھن کھے تو نکرے اعتبار

Even if a Bhában swear in the midst of the Ganges stream on the sacred idol, his son's head, and the Shástras, he can in no way be

ing, as speaking of the men who now cultivate the fields, which once, I doubt not, yielded the necessaries of life to the recluses of the vihára of Virádeva, described a thousand years ago, as being "as lofty as the mind of its founder, and which the travellers in aërial cars mistake for the peak of Kailása or the Mandara hill." Six hundred feet to the south-east of the village, there are the remains of four temples or topes, but time has reduced them to nearly a level with the surrounding plain.

On a line with these tumuli is a mud fort with a tower at either corner, which measures seventy feet from east to west, and eighty from north to south. In the middle of the village, about two hundred feet to the north of the fort, is a row of very fine idols commonly designated as the Singhabáni Thán. All the figures (with one exception) are purely Buddhistic. In the centre of them is an idol of Durgá, carved in black basalt. It is four feet high and three wide, and is more modern than the Buddhist figures which surround it, and very inferior to them in design and execution. The goddess is represented as seated on an enormous lion, whose mane curiously reminds one of the wigs in use by our Judges at home, when they go in state to Westminster-hall on the first day of Term. The right foot is drawn up in front of the body, while the left rests on a lotus flower. The figure is eight-armed, and each arm grasps the usual emblems. To the left of this is a very beautiful statue of Buddha, four feet high. The figure is seated in the attitude of meditation on a cushion covered with elaborate ornamentation, which rests on a throne supported at either corner by a lion-couchant. From the centre of the throne depends a cloth, the folds of which are inscribed with the Buddhist creed, and covered by the representation of a female goddess in the act of trampling upon an adversary, under the shade of an umbrella, held by an attendant from behind. On either side of the cloth, a figure (one male and the other female) is seen in the act of making an offering. The main figure is covered by a long cloak, and the hair is knotted. A halo surrounds the head. There is a cushion at the back of the throne. Above the head is a "chaitya" surmounted by a pípal tree. Around the main figure are eight smaller ones, seated in different positions on small thrones, six of these holding lotus flowers of different design; in one case a bud, in another a cluster, in a third a full blown flower, and so forth. The seventh grasps a sword, and the eighth a sword in one hand and an unfurled banner in the other. At the bottom of the figure, that is under the lions which support the throne, is a double row of lotus leaves, this being the very converse of the ordinary arrangement. The details of this figure are very curious, and I have never seen them in any other. At the side of it is a standing one of Buddha about four feet high. The body is covered by a long cloak and the hair is knotted, to the right an attendant holds an umbrella over the head, and to the left is a three-headed figure holding a bell in one hand and a torch in the other.

To the right of the Hindú idol is a figure of Buddha under a pillared canopy. The next to the right is a figure of Buddha, four and a half feet high, which resembles in almost every particular a still finer idol which I excavated from the ruins of the Vihára. This latter being now in my own collection, I refrain from any detailed description in the present case, but I may mention that the main figure is surrounded by five smaller ones, the first being seated in the hair and the others to the right and left of head and hands respectively.

Five hundred feet west of the Singhabáni, one arrives at the ruins of the vihára and temple. The former now consists of a mound, having a circumference of some 200 feet, and the latter of an oblong mass of bricks and rubbish, measuring 120 feet by 70 and about 15 or 20 feet above the level of the surrounding country. The mound is strewn with broken Buddhistic idols, and to the east of it was found a fine piece of black basalt one foot nine inches long, by one foot three inches broad, and covered by a very perfect inscription of nineteen lines. I have had the good fortune to secure a reading and translation of this, both by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra and Professor Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandarkar, M. A., which I now give in original, and for which I beg to express my thanks.

I.—*The Ghosráwan Inscription. Transcript by* BA'BU' RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.

१ ॐ श्रीमानसौ जयति सत्त्वहितप्रवृत्तसम्यक्समाधिगततत्त्वनयो मुनीन्द्रः। कामार्थिनां दुरितनक्रदुरासदाम्भः संसारसागरसमुत्त—

२ रणैकसेतुः॥ अस्यामभूवन्नवरे बभूवुरबलाः सम्भूय यत्तुं मनः का लज्जा यदि कश्चिदेव न बलवानस्मिंस्त्रिलोकप्रभौ। इत्यालोचयतेव—

३ व मानसभुवा यो दूरतो वर्जितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतदवताद्बोधौ सवज्रासनः॥ अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशोत्तमो न—

४ गरहार इति प्रतीतः। तत्र द्विजातिरुदितोदितवंशजन्मा नाम्नेन्द्रगुप्त इति राजसखो बभूव॥ राज्ञ्याख्यया द्विजवरः सगुणोरुशि—

५ ष्यया युक्तो रराज कलया मलया यथेन्दुः। लोकः पतिव्रतकथा परिभावना—य सङ्कीर्त्तनं प्रथममेव करोति यस्याः॥ ताभ्यामजा—

६ यत सुतः सुतरां विवेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकबुद्ध्या। सर्वोपभोग—सुभगोपि गृहे विरक्तः प्रव्रज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युपे—

७ तुं॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् कृतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीमत्कनिष्कमुपगम्य महाविहा—रं। प्राप्तो य एवमथ सुप्रशमप्रशस्तं (स्तां) सर्वज्ञशान्तिमनुगम्य

८ तपश्चचार॥ सोयं विप्रवरगुणसम्भृतभूरिकीर्त्तिः शिष्योनुरूपगुणशीलयशोभि—रामः। बालेन्दुवत्कविकुमुद्विकासकान्तिर्मन्युः

९ षद्धा मुनिजनैरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाथ श्रीमन्महाबोधिमुपा-
गतोसौ । द्रष्टुं ततोगात्सहदेशभिक्षून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्म्म—
१० पुरं विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्नथेह सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिसारः श्रीदेवपालभुवनाधिपलब्ध-
पूजः । प्राप्तप्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताशः पूर्ववद्रीरिव—
११ तमः प्रसरो रराज ॥ भिक्षोरात्मसमः सुहृत्कुल इव श्रीसत्यबोधेर्निजो नालन्दा-
परिपालनाय नियतः सङ्घस्थितौ यः स्थितः । यन्नोतौ स्फु—
१२ टमिन्द्रशैलमुकुट श्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीपुण्यव्रतसम्भृतेन जगतः श्रेयोऽर्थमुत्थापिनी ॥
नालन्दया च परिपालितयेह सत्या श्रीम—
१३ द्विहारपरिहारविभूषिताङ्ग्या । उद्भाषितोपि बहुकीर्त्तिवधूपतित्वे यः साधुसाधुरिति
साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः । चिन्ताज्वरं शमयतार्त्तजन—
१४ स्य दृष्ट्या धम्वन्तरेरपि ह्रियेन हतः प्रभावः । यश्चेप्सितार्थपरिपूर्णमनोरथे-
न लोकेन कल्पतरुतुल्यतया गृहीतः ॥ तेनैतद्—
१५ च कृतमात्ममनोवदुच्चैर्वज्रासनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । संजायते यदभिवीक्ष्य
विमानगानां कैलासमन्दरमहीधरशृङ्गशङ्का ॥ सर्व्व—
१६ सोपनयेन सत्त्वसुहृदामौदार्य्यमभ्यस्यता सम्बोधौ विहितस्पृहं सद्गुणैर्विस्पर्द्धि-
वीर्य्यं तथा । चनसेन निजानिजा विरचयत पुण्याधिकारे
१७ स्थिते येन स्वेन यशोध्वजेन घटितौ वज्रमवुदीचीपथे ॥ सोपानमार्गमिव
मुक्तिपुरस्य कीर्त्तिमेतां विधाय कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मात् ।
१८ कृत्वादितः सपितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेतु जनराशिरशेष एव ॥ यावत्कूर्मा-
जलधिवलयां भूतधात्रीं बिभर्त्ति ध्वान्तध्वंसी
१९ तपति तपनो यावदेवोग्ररश्मिः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरमहसा यामवत्यश्च याव-
त्तावत्कीर्त्तिर्जयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य शुभ्रा ॥

TRANSLATION.

" From——Success to the auspicious sage Munindra (= Buddha) whose mind, bent on the welfare of mankind, has mastered the principles of morality, who is the only bridge for the oppressed to cross the ocean of worldly trouble, infested by the frightful crocodile of sin. Women, who are our sovereigns, cannot, even when they are all united together, reduce his mind: what disgrace is there then, if unaided, I am powerless to overcome the Lord of the Three Regions? So thought the mind-born Cupid and flew away to a distance from him. May that auspicious Vajrasana preserve the illimitable universe in the path of Buddhism! There exists an excellent country—the ornament of the regions of the north, and renowned as Nagarahára. There lived a courtier by name Indragupta, twice born by race [Dvija] and descended from a very noble family. Spotless like Indra, he flourished, with his accomplished Rání, the mistress of his household, whose name is reckoned the first, when people recount the virtues of faithful wives.

"A son was born unto them, who from his birth thought of the future world and who was necessarily dispassionate. He was dissatisfied with all the pleasures of home, and longed to attain the ordinance of Sugata by retirement.

"Having studied all the Vedas and reflected on the purport of the Sástras, he repaired to the great monastery of Kanishka,* and acquiring there a knowledge of the dispensation of the all-knowing (Sarvajna =Buddha), the theme of praise of all intelligent people, he performed a penance. This person of spotless merit and manifold virtues, distinguished by all the qualities of a worthy disciple, resplendently free from the stains of this Kali age, even as a young man, the lauded of all sages was VIRADEVA.

"Wishing on one occasion to offer his adoration to the adamantine throne (vajrásana) of the great auspicious Bodhi he came to this place,† and subsequently, with a view to cultivate the acquaintance of the Bhikshus of the country, repaired to the Vásanauvana vihára.

"Abiding there for a long time, that person (Viradeva) who had made knowledge his only object, obtained the respect of the king of the country, DEVAPA'LA,‡ and flourished with daily increasing lustre, even as the sun, (Pushan) the dispeller of widespread gloom.

"He was as the soul of Bhikshus, beneficent even as one's own hand and the elect of Satyabodhi, he lived to promote the prosperity of *Nálandá* and the stability of the congregation (sangha). His virtues have made resplendent the *crown jewel of chaityas on the crest of the Indra-saila hill,* which promotes the welfare of creation by the dispensation of virtue, although addressed as the husband of many.

"Favoured for his meritorious deeds by the faithful and well-protected lady Nálandá, *whose person was embellished with richly endowed viháras,* he was nevertheless praised as the pure and meritorious by all men.

"He, who curing by his look alone persons overwhelmed with the fever of destruction, cast into shade even the glory of Dhanwantari; he whom men, having obtained all the objects of their longing, looked upon as the all-granting Tree of Desire (Kalpa-taru), even he caused *this noble building* (to be erected), lofty as his mind, for the greatest object on earth, the adamantine throne of Buddha; (vajrásana) a building which, when beheld by the travellers of the sky, leads to the impression of its being a peak of either *Kailása* on the *Mandara* hill.

"By him who had given away everything he had, and thereby became the most munificent among those who do good to mankind; who was the most

* See Cunningham's 'Ancient Geography,' p. 99. † Ghosráwan.

‡ See Bábú Rájendralála Mitra's note on the Nálandá inscription in my account of those ruins, published by the Government of Bengal.

ardent in the knowledge of Buddha, most emulous in acquiring high merit, who was fearless alike amongst his own people and strangers in *this ever-progressing virtuous region*, has raised this flag of renown in honour of his maternal and paternal races in the northern regions.

" Whatever fruits may proceed from this act, which may be likened to a flight of steps to the mansion of liberation, may the same be conducive to the attainment of the divine knowledge of Buddha by mankind at large, foremost by his parents and ancestors!

" As long as the tortoise supports the ocean-girt receptacle of matter, as long as the darkness-dispelling sun sheds his fiery rays, as long as the mild luminary continues to sooth mankind and the night, so long may this bright act of Viradeva prosper in this world!"

Babu Rájendralála Mitra remarks, that the date of the dedication is not given, but looking to the character, the well known Kutila, and the allusion of Deva Pála of the Pála dynasty of Bengal, the inscription probably belongs to the beginning of the 9th century. The dedicator was a recluse from the north-west frontier and bore the name of Viradeva. His native town was Nagarahára, once a famous seat of Buddhism, but now in ruins. His father, Indragupta, is described as a friend of the king (Rájasakha), that is, as I take it, a courtier; but he must have held high rank in court, as his wife is styled a Rání, or Queen. Viradeva was of a religious turn of mind, and in early manhood retired from the busy world, to acquire a knowledge of the Buddhist faith in the Kanishka monastery, where he devoted a great portion of his life to study and penance, and to following the practice of his order. He started on his travels and came to the Nálandá monastery in Bihár, and afterwards dwelt for a time in the Vásanauvana vihára, where he got himself noticed and respected by the king of the country, Deva Pála.

Where the monastery was situated I cannot ascertain. It was probably somewhere near Mánikyála in the Panjáb or near his home.

II.—*The Ghosráwan Inscription.—Transcript by* Professor Ra'mkrishna Gopa'l Bhandarka'r, of Bombay.

ॐ श्रीमानसौ जयति सत्त्वहितप्रवृत्तसम्यक्समाधिगततत्त्वनयो मुनीन्द्रः । येनात्मना दुरि-
तमःप्रकुराशदान्तः संसारसागरसमुत्त १

रणैकसेतुः ॥ अस्यामकुरवो बभूवुरचलाःसंभूय धर्त्तुं मनः का लज्जा यदि केवलो
न बलवानस्मि त्रिलोकप्रभौ । इत्यालोचयते २

स भीमसभवा यो दूरबो वर्जितः श्रीमान्विश्वमशेषमेतदवताद्बुधो भवत्रासकः ॥
अस्त्युत्तरापथविभूषणभूतभूमिर्देशोत्तमा न ३

गरहार इति प्रतीतः । तत्र द्विजातिरुदितोदितवंशजन्मा नामेन्द्रगुप्त इति राज-
सखो बभूव ॥ र[?]जे[?]कया द्विजवरः स गुणी सं ४

विद्या युतो रराज बलया सलया यथेन्दुः । लोकः पतिव्रतकथा परिभावनासु
सङ्कीर्त्तनं प्रथममेव करोति यस्याः ॥ ताभ्यामजा ५

यत सुतः सुतरां विवेकी यो बाल एव कलितः परलोकबुद्ध्या । सर्व्वोपभोगसुभगे पि
ग्टहे विरक्तः प्रव्रज्यया सुगतशासनमभ्युपे ६
तुं ॥ वेदानधीत्य सकलान् कृतशास्त्रचिन्तः श्रीसत्कनिष्कमुपगम्य महाविहारं । (five
letters illegible) मयस प्रशमप्रशस्य सर्व्वज्ञशान्तिमनुगम्य ७
तपश्चचार ॥ सोयं विशुद्धगुणसम्भृतभूरिकीर्त्तिः शिष्योऽनुरूपगुणशीलयशोभिरामः ।
बालेन्दुवत्कलिकलङ्कविमुक्तकान्तिर्वन्द्यः ८
सदा मुनिजनैरपि वीरदेवः ॥ वज्रासनं वन्दितुमेकदाऽथ श्रीमन्महाबोधिमुपागतोऽसौ ।
द्रष्टुं ततोऽगात्स्वदेशभिक्षून् श्रीमद्यशोवर्म्म ९
पुरं* विहारं ॥ तिष्ठन्नथेह सुचिरं प्रतिपत्तिसारः श्रीदेवपालभुवनाधिपलब्धपूजः । प्राप्त-
प्रभः प्रतिदिनोदयपूरिताशः पूषेव दारित १०
तमः प्रसरो रराज ॥ भिक्षोरात्मसमः सुहृद्भुज इव श्रीसत्यबोधे निजेनालन्दापरि-
पालनाय नियतः सङ्घस्थिते यः स्थितः । येनैतौ स्फु ११
टमिन्दुशैलमुकुट श्रीचैत्यचूडामणी श्रीमच्छ्रतसम्भृतेन जगतः श्रेयोर्थमुच्छ्रापितौ ॥
नालन्दया च परिपालितयेह सत्या श्रीम १२
द्विहारपरिहारविभूषिताङ्ग्या । उद्भासितोऽपि बहुकीर्त्तिवधूपतित्वे यः साधु साधुरिति
साधुजनैः प्रशस्तः ॥ चिन्ताज्वरं शमयताऽर्थिजन १३
स्य दृष्ट्या धन्वन्तरेपि हि येन हृतः प्रभावः । यथेप्सितार्थपरिपूर्णमनोरथेन लोकेन
कल्पतरुतुल्यतया ग्टहीतः ॥ तेनैतद् १४
व कृतमात्ममनोवदुच्चैर्वज्रासनस्य भवनं भुवनोत्तमस्य । संजायते यदभिवीक्ष्य विमान-
गानां कैलासमन्दरमहीधरशृङ्गशङ्का ॥ सर्व्वं १५
लोपनयेन सत्वसुहृदामौदार्य[?] मभ्यस्यता सम्बोधौ विहितस्पृहं सह गुणैर्विस्फूर्ज्जि-
वीर्ग[?]न्तया । अनघेन निजे निजाविह हृत्पुण्याधिकारे १६
स्थितो येन खेन यशोध्वजेन घटितौ वंशावुदीचीपथे ॥ सोपानमार्गमिव मुक्ति-
पुर[?]स्य कीर्त्तिमेतां विधाय कुशलं यदुपात्तमस्मात् [?] १७
तत्वादितः सपितरं गुरुवर्गमस्य सम्बोधिमेतु जनराशिरशेष एव ॥ यावत्कूर्म्मो जलधि-
वलयां भूतधात्रीं बिभर्त्ति ध्वान्तध्वंसी १८
तपति तपनो यावदेवोग्ररश्मिः । स्निग्धालोकाः शिशिरमहसा यामवत्यश्च यावत्तावत्की-
र्त्तिर्जयतु भुवने वीरदेवस्य शुभ्रा ॥ १९ ॥

Translation.

"Victorious is the glorious lord of Munis who, by his mind, operating for the good of all creatures, found out the system of truth and who is the only bridge for crossing the ocean of worldly existences; which [bridge] the crocodiles of sins, producing affliction, cannot approach. May he, the

* The Rev. Dr. J. Wenger who kindly undertook the laborious task of correcting the proofs of these inscriptions, remarks that the word *Vásanauvaná* does not occur in the text. The word actually used is *Jas'ovarmapúr*, *varma* being the title of a dynasty of kings. Vásanauvana may of course be a synonym. The inscription appears to be metrical, but has not been printed as such. Strange to say, the Sanskrit is far purer than is usually found in inscriptions of the Pála kings.

A. M. B.

glorious being, seated on the seat of adamant (vajrásana) under the Bodhi tree, protect the whole universe,—he, whom the fancy-born (god of love) shunned from a distance, as if reflecting that there was no shame in it, if he single-handed were powerless to attract the mind of the lord of the three worlds, when his superiors who had gathered together, proved unable to do so. There is a country known as Nagarahára, the land of which is the ornament of Uttarápatha (Northern India). There was a Bráhman there of the name of Indragupta, the friend of the king, who was born in a family that had risen high. The meritorious and excellent Bráhman shone like the moon with his spotless digits,—united to a wife,—[one word illegible] a wife of whom mention is first made by people in going over the stories of faithful wives. From them was born a son who was exceedingly thoughtful, and whose mind even in childhood was filled with thoughts of the next world, and even in his house, rich in all the means of enjoyment, he remained unconcerned [took to no pleasure], in order, by the renunciation of the world, to adopt the system of Sugata. Having studied all the vedas and reflected on the shástras, he went to the vihára of Kanishka, and following him who was praiseworthy on account of his severity, and who was all-knowing and free from passions [two or three words illegible], he practised penance. The pupil of one who, by his pure virtues, had obtained great fame, he, Viradeva—graceful by the possession of befitting virtues, character and fame, and with a lustre free from the stains of Kali, was like the new moon, an object of adoration even to the munis. He once came to the great Bodhi to pay his respects to the vajrásana (adamantine seat), and thence went to see the mendicant priests of his country to the Yasovarmmapura Vihára. While staying here for a long time, respected by all and patronized by the king Devapála, he, having obtained* splendour [of knowledge or power], outfilling by his every-day rise all the quarters, and dispelling darkness, shone like the sun. Appointed to protect (govern) Nálandá, he, the friend of the Bhikshu, as if he were his arm, abided by his true knowledge concerning the church† (or congregation—*sangha*), and having already taken the vow of a S'ramana, erected, for the good of the world, *two crest-jewels in the shape of chaityas*, on the crown (summit) of Indra-saila. Though shining bright by means of Nálandá‡ who having been protected by him, had her body adorned with a splendid row of viháras, he was praised by good people saying, "Well done, well done," when he became the husband of the wife Great Fame. Dispelling the fever of

* The three epithets here have a double meaning, one applicable to the sun and the other to Viradeva.

† That it is of great importance to have a united church and to construct *vihâras* for congregational purposes.

‡ Compared to a wife.

anxiety of afflicted persons by a mere look, he put to shame the might of Dhanvantari* and was regarded as equal to a Kalpa-taru† by people whose desires he had fulfilled by granting to them all objects wished for. By him was erected this house for the best thing in the world, the adamantine seat (vajrásana), as lofty as his own mind, which the movers in ærial cars mistake for a peak of Kailása or Mandára, when they look at it. With his desires fixed on enlightenment (or true knowledge—*sambodhi*) and with a heroism rivalling his other qualities, he, practising liberality to the friends of all creatures by giving his all, and exercising his holy authority here, hoisted the banner of his fame on the two poles of his family‡ (family of father and mother) in Uttarápatha. Since in the shape of his famous deeds he erected a staircase to ascend the place of final emancipation and obtained religious merit, may all people without exception, headed by his father and all the elder ones, attain to real knowledge§ (sambodhi)! May the bright fame of Víradeva last in the world as long as the tortoise bears the earth begirt with the seas, as long as the sun with his warm rays, the destroyer of darkness, shines, and as long as the cool-beamed moon renders the nights bright!"

In the middle of the east wall of the vihára I found a very beautiful figure three parts concealed in the ruins. It is now in my collection at Bihár, and I extract the description of it from my catalogue:—"No. XVI. A magnificent alto-relievo figure in black basalt, eight feet high, probably of Vajrasattva Buddha. [Schlagintweit, p. 53]. The feet rest on a lotus pedestal, and there is no throne underneath. The hair rises from the forehead, and is twisted into a pyramidical cone which is nearly a foot in height. In its midst a Buddha is seated in the state of contemplation. A jewelled frontlet passes from behind the ear over the brow. The figure is four-armed, and each wrist is ornamented with an elaborately wrought bangle or bracelet. Other jewels adorn the feet, and the upper part of the arms, or rather the root of the four arms, for the second pair appear only to spring from the elbows. Above the head two winged figures support a jewelled crown with three points. The upper hand on the left side grasps a lotus stalk springing from the ground, while the lower holds a large bell, the rim and clapper of which are ornamented with a bead-work pattern. The palm of the hands on the right side are turned outwards and exhibit the mark of sovereignty. The upper one grasps a "málá," or rosary. A ribbon, or scarf, three inches wide, passes over the left shoulder across the body. A cloth covered with a pattern of stars depends from a cord beneath the navel, and extends as

* Physician of the gods.

† A heavenly tree having the power of granting anything desired.

‡ The word 'vanśa' means 'race or family' and 'a pole or *bamboo*,' and is here used in both the senses.

§ By means of his good deeds which serve as a staircase.

far as the knee. A jewelled girdle, with a large buckle, encircles the waist. There is a third eye in the centre of the forehead. On either side are two grotesque attendants. The one to the right is extremely corpulent, and is quite nude. It is in a kneeling position and grasps a lotus stalk, the flower of which is seen behind the upper right hand. The one to the left is clothed similarly to the main figure, and leans on a mace grasped in the left hand. The Buddhist creed is inscribed in the background and the donor's name below." On the north side of the vihára I found another very perfect figure. I describe it in my catalogue as follows :—" No. IX. An alto-relievo figure of Buddha in black basalt, three feet three inches high. The figure is in the attitude of contemplation, and is clothed with a long robe depending from the left shoulder, and reaching the ankle. It rests on a lotus-leaf pedestal, supported by a lion-couchant on either side, and in the centre a female devotee is seen in the act of making an offering. The back of the throne is richly carved, and terminates in two points. It singularly resembles a gothic chair. A halo surrounds the head which is surmounted by a pípal tree. Above this is seen a couch on which Buddha lies in the state of nirváṇa. The right hand is placed under the head which is supported by a pillow, and the left is parallel with the side. At either end of the couch is a kneeling devotee. Above the body, rises a " chaitya," and on either side of this are musical instruments. To the right of the main-figure is one of Máyádeví (the mother of Buddha), grasping with one hand a tree and resting on the other arm. Above this, is a figure of Buddha standing in the attitude of instruction. At the right side is a small elephant, and above this a seated Buddha in the attitude of instruction, a devotee kneeling at his feet. On the left side of the main figure, is a seated figure of Buddha with the 'fasting bowl' in his lap ; above this, a standing figure of Buddha ; and at the top a seated figure corresponding with that on the other side, except that the " Wheel of the Law" which is supported by a deer on either side, takes the place of the kneeling devotee."

One thousand three hundred and fifty feet to the south of the vihára of Viradeva are the remains of another temple of considerable size. I discovered there a standing figure of Buddha six feet high, resembling in every particular the one described at the Singhabáni, except that there are no attendants, and a " chaitya" on each side of the head. A short distance to the south-west of the great temple is an image of Durgá, now worshipped as Mahisásurmardaní. To the north-west is a temple containing a similar idol, now adored under the name of Asájí. To the west of the village lies a large tank, the Sét or Sáo-táláb. Two miles north of Ghosráwan once flourished a great sister monastery, the vihára of Titráwan, which I shall presently describe at length.

Four miles due east of the convent of Viradeva, and about nine miles from

Giryak, the traveller arrives at the sandy bed of a once mighty river, the Sakri. On the opposite shore there rises a solitary hill—steeper, but less lofty, than the isolated rock of Bihár. Three sides of it are precipitous cliffs, the fourth a series of shelving rocks sloping away to the north. The summit is an even plateau four or five hundred feet square, literally covered with the remains of an enormous vihára, and of numerous stúpas and temples. Some of the piles of brick are thirty or forty feet high, and I found the remains of Buddhist idols in several parts of the hill. This rock is called Parabatí, and a flourishing village of the same name lies at its foot. One mile east, or perhaps rather north-east of the "solitary hill," is situated the village of Aphsar. Aphsar is singularly rich in Buddhistic remains, and on its outskirts there is an enormous tumulus, seventy or eighty feet high. It appears to me to be the remains of a large temple attached to a vihára. I visited Aphsar in September, 1871, and recovered four or five figures from it. They all of them merit detailed description. The most important of them is a colossal male figure, [a statue, properly so called,] about eight feet high, and four-armed. The head is surmounted by a richly jewelled crown, almost identical in shape with the regal cap of Barma and Siam, from underneath which long ringlets fall profusely over the shoulders. The sacred thread [*poita*] is noticeable on the body, in addition to the usual ornaments. In my opinion, the figure represents some prince or general—certainly not a Buddha, or any Hindú deity.

Another remarkable figure is a large, and exquisitely carved *linga*, bearing on either side a face life-sized. *The style of carving is precisely that of the other purely Buddhist idols*, and it was found close to the tumulus, near the site of the colossal boar for which Aphsar is famous, and strange to say, close to the place where Major Kittoe discovered an Açoka inscription of great length and value, but which almost immediately afterwards was lost. During my stay in Bihár, I made every effort to trace it, but without success, although I received every aid from my friend, Bábú Bimola Charan Bhattáchárjya, then Deputy Magistrate of Nowáda. Bábú Bimola Charan has succeeded me at Bihár, and devotes much time and care to the preservation of my large collection of Buddhistic sculptures. Owing to his zeal in the matter (for which he deserves the thanks of all scientific men), there is now every prospect of the Bihár Museum becoming a permanent local institution, and he tells me that it has become a sort of place of pilgrimage for all the country round; in fact, the descendants of Açoka's bráhmans at Rájagrihá are beginning to look on it as a serious opposition, and to tremble lest it should cause a diminution in their income. I take this opportunity of publicly thanking my successor for all he has done in this matter. To return to Aphsar. The Parabatí rock, we must remember, is as nearly as possible thirteen miles south-east of Bihár, and the ruins I have just described, shew it to

have been a place, which, in Buddhist times, was second only in importance to Nálandá, Rájagriha and Bihár.

Travelling between three and four miles from Aphsar in a north-westerly direction, one arrives at the great mass of ruins which marks the site of the Titráwan monastery. Like the neighbouring monastery of Ghosráwan, Titráwan escaped the notice of Dr. Buchanan, and is barely mentioned by General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography of India.' A glance at the accompanying rough sketch map will shew at once the extent of these interesting remains, and will convince the archæologist that they will repay a visit. We may here again return for a moment to Hwen Thsang. After leaving the Indra-saila peak, he is stated to have gone one hundred and sixty lis to the north east to the monastery, known as *Kia-pou-te-kia-lan*, or the 'Kapotika [*i. e.*, pigeon] vihára.' Both General Cunningham and M. Vivien de Saint Martin agree in thinking the reading incorrect, and in substituting sixty for one hundred and sixty. This must of necessity be done, as the distance given in the text would have brought the pilgrim almost close to the bank of the Ganges. *Sixty li would coincide approximately with the actual distance between Giryak and Bihár, i. e., from ten to twelve miles.* Bihár is strictly speaking north-east of Giryak, and the identification made by General Cunningham is undoubtedly correct. That Hwen Thsang should have omitted to visit Bihár is extremely improbable; for we know of its existence nine centuries before, and its ruins at the present day vie in grandeur and extent with the remains of Rájagriha and Nálandá. The vihára alluded to by Hwen Thsang appears to have been situated at Soh-Sarái, a suburb of the city, distant less than a mile from the northern extremity of the "solitary hill." At Soh-Sarái, I found several figures as well as a series of pillars thirteen feet in height [see Chapter VIII.]. I reserve, therefore, any further allusion to Bihár, until I come to describe the city itself. After leaving Bihár, Hwen Thsang proceeded to another monastery, forty *li*, or ten miles, to the south-east. The vihára in question is described as standing *on an isolated hill*, and can be most satisfactorily identified with Parabati. Yet General Cunningham considers that the "bearing and distance point to the great ruined mound of Titráwan," although the ruins are situated in a plain, instead of on a hill, *and there is not the smallest elevation visible within a circuit of five miles.* I have no doubt that it was viâ Parabati and Aphsar, and *not* Titráwan, that Hwen Thsang quitted the confines of the kingdom of Magadha.

Approaching Titráwan from Parabati, one arrives at the Digí Pokhar, an enormous tank, running almost due north and south, measuring 2481 feet by 767. Four hundred and eighty-four feet from the south-east corner of the tank is a large mass of ruins, measuring 650 feet by 400. Towards the southern side of this are the foundations of a large brick building

exactly a hundred feet square and apparently once flanked with a tower at either corner, like the smaller temple recently partly uncovered at Nálandá. The modern village of Titráwan is to the east of these ruins. Four hundred and forty-five feet to the south-east of the building above mentioned is a small temple, around which were grouped upwards of two hundred purely Buddhistic figures, many of them of exquisite beauty. I shall give a detailed description of them further on. Two hundred and thirty-eight feet to the south of the temple is another enormous tank, running due east and west and measuring 1160 feet by 780. The distance between the ruined vihára and the side of the pond is 505 feet. The tank bears the name of the Srí Bullum, or Bhairau-Pokhar. At a distance of 500 feet from the south-east corner, and facing immediately the great mass of the ruins, there is a luxuriant pípal tree under the shade of which is a colossal Buddha. The figure is placed in a brick platform, which has evidently been frequently repaired, and is supported by a small brick tower, or buttress, built behind the idol. In front a flight of steps descends to the shore of the lake. The image has been broken in two and again set up. It rests on two thrones, the lower of which is six feet six inches long, and is in three pieces joined together by iron clamps. It is divided into five compartments. In the outer one on either side there is a lion-couchant, and in the centre a lion-rampant. The two remaining ones are filled by the figures of devotees in the act of making an offering.

The throne is exactly one foot ten inches high. The second throne is in one piece, and is one foot two inches high and six feet long. It consists of a double row of fourteen lotus leaves;—the Buddhist creed being inscribed on ten leaves of the upper one—a word in each. The letters of this inscription are about an inch long. The figure is in the attitude of meditation, and the hair is knotted. The nose is very little damaged. I give its dimensions in detail.

	Feet.	Inches.
Top of the head to seat of upper throne,	7	
Round the head at forehead,	4	7
Across shoulders,	3	10
Across forehead,	1	2
Top of head to chin,	2	
Round the neck,	3	2
Across chest,	2	2
Shoulder to elbow,	2	
Elbow to wrist,	1	10
Length of hand,	1	
Hip to knee,	2	10
Knee to ankle,	3	1
Length of foot,	1	3

The body is covered with a cloak. The figure is highly venerated and has its pújárís and rent-free assignment of land. It is worshipped under the names of Srí Bullum and Bhairau. On the east side of the tower behind it there are three niches; the first containing a figure of Vishnu, the second a miniature reproduction of Srí Bullum (except that three elephants take the place of the lion-rampant in the central compartment of the throne), and the third, a standing figure of Buddha with an elephant on one side and a Bodhisattva on the other. Four hundred feet to the west of the pípal tree, the bank of the tank runs to the north for a distance of some five hundred feet and then again turns to the west. In the angle of this piece of land I found the traces of a stúpa or tope, and a similar ruin is to be seen on the opposite side—exactly two hundred feet from the northern bank. The popular traditions of Titráwan are very poor. Any knowledge or recollection of Buddhism has entirely passed away, and the construction of the now ruined vihára is attributed to a demon king—Baṉ Ásar Rája, who is also said to have consecrated the image of Srí Bullum. Titráwan must have been a monastery of no ordinary importance, and its position is even preferable to that of Bargáon. The country around it is well-watered and consequently fertile, and groves of trees surround it on all sides. From the towers of the monastery, the hills of Giryak, Bihár, and Párabati are distinctly visible, and the banks of the Srí Bullum tank are still covered at all times of the year with luxuriant verdure. This lake at sunset would even now charm every lover of the picturesque, and the effect must have been still more striking when thousands of recluses from the stately monastery which rose on its bank, left their meditations at evening time to adore and incense the colossal Buddha which they had erected in its northern shore and dedicated "to the greatest of all purposes." I counted in one day at Titráwan two hundred figures of Buddha of all sizes and design; most of them bore the Buddhist creed in the characters of the 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th centuries A. D., and they were nearly all mutilated. I rarely found a single figure which I can confidently assert to be purely Hindú. Several of the Titráwan idols were beautifully polished, and not a few of them bore inscriptions of interest. Besides the ruins at the side of the tank there are the remains of a large stúpa in the centre of the modern village, two hundred and eighty feet from the south-east corner of the vihára. The only Hindú figures I saw there were these of Siva and Durgá, commonly called Gauri Sankar.

I now proceed to describe the Buddhist figures recovered by me from the Titráwan monastery, and now in my collection. No. [CCCXL.] A small figure one foot high, found in the mud at the banks of the Digí Pokhar. It represents Buddha in the state of nirváṇa, reposing on a couch—one arm being under the head and the other resting on his side. The couch is supported by fantastically carved pillars. There are three attendants below; one has his head buried in his arms; the back of the second is turned to-

wards the spectator and he is apparently in the act of adoration, and the other is in the act of supplication. At each side of the body is a tree, and in the centre rises a circular stúpa on a square base terminating in a series of thirteen umbrellas. The Buddhist creed is inscribed on the face of the bed. [CXXLI.] The alto-relievo figure of a goddess two feet three inches high, not in any way mutilated—seated on a cushioned throne supported by lions at either corner. A cloth hangs down from the centre of the throne and bears an inscription. The figure is four-armed. The body is covered by a spangled garment which descends from a jewelled girdle below, the navel. The usual ornaments are seen on the arms and neck, and a medallion is suspended by a chain from the latter. A scarf passes across the breast and shoulders. The upper hands grasp sprigs or bunches of flowers, and the lower hand to the left support a nude male infant on her knee. The opposite hand holds, what is apparently meant to represent, some sweetmeat or a cocoanut. The hair is elaborately ornamented. I take it to be the figure of Vasti, the goddess of fecundity, and I found an almost identical idol in the Bihár fort. There is an inscription on the plinth, of which the following is a reading—

श्रोनेन्तढो ग्रामे सैविष्णु सुत ७[?]गोपती चन्द्रकन पुण्ड्र स्वरो? सैमहानिक

[two letters] पृ [?] स्वं [two letters.]

"In the village of Nentati by Gopatichandraka, the son of Sai Vishnu, and mistress [or master, lord] of Pundra Sai Mahanika.*"

[CCCXLII.] Portion of a figure of Buddha, containing merely the head—the surrounding halo [within which is inscribed the Buddhist creed], and a small kneeling figure to the left, holding a scroll, over which is inscribed the word Srí Magúlan. [CCCXLIII.] Elaborate pedestal of a figure of Buddha in the attitude of meditation [broken off]. A double row of lotus leaves springing from a very beautifully sculptured stem, amongst which are the figures of five devotees. The base is covered by a long inscription of two lines, but I almost despair of getting it deciphered, on account of its indistinctness. [CCCLXIV.] Alto-relievo figure of Buddha in black basalt, and polished to resemble marble, two feet eight inches high. The body resembles precisely that of the great figure near the lake. The throne is divided into three compartments—the outer ones containing lions-rampant, and the middle one two devotees and a figure of Buddha in a state of repose under a canopy. The background consists of pillars, and dragons rampant. The head is surrounded by an halo, which is surmounted by a pípal tree and the Buddhist creed. There is a seated Buddha on either side of the head. [CCCXLV.] An alto-relievo figure in black basalt, two feet ten inches high, seated on a throne, along the face of which there is an

* All the characters are nearly obliterated.

inscription. The face is nearly life size and the features hideous—the hair has been drawn like the feathers of a peacock's tail. A cobra's head peeps over the left shoulder. The earrings are circular, depressed in the centre and very large. There are two necklaces round the neck and two long flower garlands. A spangled cloth descends from the wrist to the ankles. The upper right hand grasps a sword and the left a trident [trisúl]. The objects in the lower hands I cannot distinguish—one being perhaps a gourd or pumpkin. The left foot is drawn up underneath the body, and the right rests on a lotus blossom below the seat of the throne. Bábú Rám K. Bhandarkar reads the inscription :—८९२ सेव [illegible] सु [illegible] च [one letter] सैजेनेन देवधर्म,

"A gift to the gods by Sai Jena—Sambat 892—5th day—(*i. e.*, A. D. 837.)

[VII] A very beautiful and perfect figure of Buddha in black basalt, three feet four inches high. The right hand rests on the knee, and the legs are crossed—the left hand being parallel to the left foot, which is marked with the sign of sovereignty. The body is supported by a cushion, and the hair is ruffled. A very beautiful halo covered with geometrical pattern surrounds the head, and above it rise three branches of the sacred pípal tree, each leaf of which is carved with extraordinary minuteness. Beneath the figure, a cloth depends from the throne, the sides of which gradually incline towards each other—disclosing at each corner a well-executed figure of a lion in the act of tearing to pieces the skull of a fallen elephant. There is an ornament in the neck and left arm, but apparently no drapery at all.—[XII] Figure of Buddha in black basalt, very well executed and identical with that described in the "Ruins of Nálandá Monastery," p. 12, except that the base consists of a group of devotees instead of the more common lion throne.—[LVIII.] Standing figure of Buddha, two feet six inches high. Plain back ground, without the usual ornamented border. The dress, etc., as in No. IV. The figure rests on a simple lotus leaf pedestal, and there is no throne at the base. On the right side there is an elephant and to the left an attendant in the same costume as the main figure and holding a mace in the right hand.—[LXXVI] Curious alto-relievo carving, two feet eleven by two. At the base are small lotus-leaf thrones. On the two principal ones are seated crowned figures with a back ground of snake-hoods. Right and left of these principal figures are seated Nágás, with enormous tails turned upwards over their heads and the heads of the larger figures, and finally fantastically twisted into a knot between them. The portions of the stone above the figures, between them and the tails of the Nágás, are covered with inscriptions. The peculiarity of the position of the writing renders the taking an impression more than ordinarily difficult, but it has been attempted both by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra and General Cunningham, and I hope soon to possess a transcript of it. It appears to contain the word Mahipála, as on the gate of the temple of

Báladitya at Nálandá.—[CXXVI] Remarkably perfect figure of Buddha, carved in the finest black basalt. There are no attendants, throne, &c. The stone around the head is of oval shape with a border. The hair is tufted, and the body is covered by a cloak which falls over the left shoulder. The body rests on a cushion encircled by a carved border. The reverse of the carving is almost covered with the drawing of an enormous votive chaitya surmounted by a series of umbrellas. This I think is almost unique and is undoubtedly worthy of notice. It may possibly be the representation of a chaitya at Titráwan.—[CXXIV]. Curious figured Buddha, two feet four inches high—seated in European fashion on a throne, the hair in tufts, as on the Indra-Saila peak, an attendant on either side of the feet, and a seated Buddha at each side of the head.—[CLXII]. A slab of black basalt, two feet high, covered with a rude carving, intended to represent Buddha in the state of nirvāṇa under the sacred Bodhi tree.—[CCXXVIII]. A magnificent figure of Máyádeví in very fine black basalt, four feet three inches high. The pedestal is composed of scroll work of the most elaborate description. The hair is not turned up in a conical point as in the other figures, but is dressed in an enormous chignon which falls to the right. The busts are large, and the figure leans gracefully to the left. The various ornaments are of the most elaborate description. Five Buddhas surround the head. On either side are richly dressed attendants armed, and leaning in the same position as the main figure; the one to the left has a background of flames. The plinth is covered by an inscription, as follows;

देयधर्म्मोयं प(रम)भट्टारक[चोपासक?] भट्ट नाहेग्र सुत भट्ट इच्छस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु मातृपितृपूर्व्वंगम सकलसत्वानुग्रहे य? नुत्र? राज श्रीरामपतिदेव सम्वत् वैशाष [शाख] दिने २८ षितासुत (about six letters illegible).

" This is a gift to gods, by the pious devotee Bhaṭṭa Ichchha, the son of Bhaṭṭa Naho. May the merit abiding in this, contribute to the welfare of all beings with his father and mother at the head! The second year of the king Srí Rámapati Deva; 28th day of Vaisákha."

The characters in this inscription look comparatively modern.

No. IV. Fine standing figure of Buddha in black basalt, five feet eight inches. The pedestal is divided into five compartments, and is decorated only by a simple moulding. A devotee is kneeling at the right hand corner. The feet of the statue rest on a double row of lotus leaves. The figure is draped in a long cloak reaching to the knees, and a second garment beneath it extends to just above the ankles. On either side is an attendant, the one to the left holding an umbrella, the other (a curious three-faced figure) grasping a lighted torch in one hand, and a water-pot in the other. On either side of the head there are small seated figures of Buddha. Behind the figure, is a very exquisitely carved moulding resting on two

pillars which culminate in tulip-shaped capitals. There is a bead-like halo round the head, and a similar border encircles the stone itself. This figure came from the centre of the brick building, and always bore the name of the Telia Dhobé (an evil spirit ?)

A mile to the west of the Digí pond at Titráwan is another village—scarcely less picturesquely situated—called Haragáwan or Hargáon [Vihára-grám ?]. Here there is a large mound at the west bend of a dried-up tank. Several pieces of carving were lying about it, when I first visited it in September, and I commenced an excavation there. I uncovered a series of cells running north and south, each being twelve feet long by four or five broad, and the partition walls being of great thickness. In the first cell to the south, I found a splendid figure of Buddha, and I hope one day to completely uncover the mound. The Buddha I allude to, is No. XXVI, in my museum. It is carved in black basalt of a quality equal to marble. The body rests on a pedestal of lotus flowers, beneath which is a throne divided into seven compartments. These are again sub-divided by a line in the centre. The lower ones consist merely of brackets, mouldings, and cornices, and the upper ones are filled with figures. At the right is a female devotee; then a lion; next a grotesque figure (full face) supporting the moulding above, and in the centre the Wheel of the Law with a deer on either side. On the left side, in the place of the female figure, are two chaityas, with a small figure above. The signification of this is mysterious. As regards the dress, a simple sheet extends from the waist to the ankles, and its folds are gathered up in festoons beneath the legs. The head is covered by a conical crown, and the jewels on the body are very elaborate. To the right of the figure is a small image of Máyádeví, and above this a Buddha—standing and wearing a conical crown. There is a similar figure on the opposite side, and below it is a Buddha holding the Bhikhshú's bowl. The necklace is very beautiful, and there is a lotus blossom behind each ear.

VIII.—Pawa'pu'ri' and Biha'r [" The Isolated Rock"].

We must next visit one of the greatest places of Jaina pilgrimage—Pawápúrí, situated about three miles to the west of Hargáon and Titráwan, near the dried-up course of the Panchána, and as nearly as possible due south of the "solitary hill" of Bihár. Pawápúrí is, strange to say, singularly destitute of archæological interest. The great temple of Mahávíra is a modern construction,—a glaring mass of brick and plaster, totally void of any beauty or architectural merit. Its lodging-houses, garden, "nauratan" summer-house, &c., all date within the past thirty years, and look as if the workmen had only left them yesterday. To the south of the village, and near the shores of the famous Pawápúri tank, I detected the remains of a tumulus, but its materials have been ruthlessly used up in the construction of

a great circular platform, which you are gravely assured to have been the actual scene of the preaching and teaching of the famous Jaina Tírthankara himself. In the village I found a few Buddhist idols which probably came from this place. Opposite the "chabútra," or "pulpit," of Mahávíra is an enormous tank, covered with the lotus flower and other luxuriant water plants, and in which myriads of fish swim undisturbed by the apprehension of inimical net or hook; for their preservation seems to be the only care of the pujárí and his assistants. In the centre of the pond is a second temple still less attractive than the first, built in the centre of a stone platform, which is connected with the shore by a narrow stone causeway five hundred and fifty feet long. This temple is resorted to by pilgrims from all parts of India, and is the scene of a great melá in the month of Kártika. Many of the visitors are the inhabitants of native states, subjects of Sindhia and Holkar, and it must be a dreadful undertaking for them to pass through the tract of country south of the rail before the autumn sun has dried up the floods, which make the once famous Bihár almost inaccessible during the rainy season. A good road from Bakhtiárpur to Bihár would be of infinite service to the country, and its completion is worthy of the attention of Government. Without it, the lakhs of rupees which have been spent on the roads from Giryak to Rájaulí and from Giryak to Munger, have been simply wasted.

Six miles north of the birth-place of Mahávíra Swámi is situated Bihár,—once a famous seat of Buddhistic lore and at the same time doubtless the capital of a Hindú or Buddhist prince;—later still, the metropolis of one of the richest and most powerful of Muhammadan states—and now the decayed and ruined chief station of the subdivision of Zila' Patna which bears its name. To the west of the town runs the Panchána, now represented merely by a sandy hollow, winding round the foot of the solitary hill to the north-west of the town. From the main stream no less than five rivulets branched off to the east, intersecting the town in different places, and adding not a little to the picturesqueness of its appearance. All of these have long since dried up, and with its river seems to have ended the prosperity of Bihár.

For years a great sand-bank has been silting up in the bed of the stream just below Pawápúrí; which forces all the water into the *pynes* to the east, and renders the country to the south an arid waste. Even at the height of the rains, the most feeble stream with difficulty forces its way along the deserted bed, and at all other times of the year not a particle of water is visible. To the north-east of the town is the hill, appropriately described more than fifteen hundred years ago as an "isolated rock." The southern slope is gradual, a staircase of boulders piled one upon the other, more like the work of some architect of the past, the effect of volcanic agency. The other side is a cliff, the side of which is varied by enormous rocks, some perpendicular and boldly darting into the air, others lying in heterogeneous

piles at the foot of the precipice. Seen in the glare of the midday sun the Bihár hill would fail to impress the traveller, but when the shades of evening fall upon it, and darkness begins to gather around its caves and rocks, it would be difficult to describe its beauty. Before leaving the solitary hill, or speaking of its ruins, we must again seek for aid in the pages of Fah-Hiyan. I follow the text of Mr. Beal's translation, page 110, chapter 28. "From this city [Patna] proceeding in a south-easterly direction nine yojanas, we arrive at a *small rocky hill standing by itself,* on the top of which is a stone cell facing the south. On the occasion, when Buddha was sitting in the middle of this cell, the divine Sekra took with him his attendant musicians, each one provided with a five-stringed lute, and caused them to sound a strain in the place where Buddha was seated. Then the divine Sekra proposed forty-two questions to Buddha, writing each one of them singly with his finger upon a stone. The traces of these questions yet exist. There is also a Sañgháráma built upon this spot. Going *south-west* from this one yójana we arrive at the village of Ná-lo."

This hill is identified by General Cunningham with Giryak. "The remains of Giryak," he writes, "appear to me to *correspond exactly* with the accounts given by Fah-Hiyan of the Hill of the Isolated Rock." His reasons are twofold, 1st, the position, and 2nd, the supposed etymology of Giryak, *i. e.,* giri-eka = *ek giri.* I have already given several reasons for my differing with General Cunningham as to this identification, and I now proceed to adduce others.

Firstly, at Giryak *there is no solitary hill at all,* nor any hill which can be described as resembling in any way an eminence of that description. At Giryak terminates the rocky range of the Rájgir hills, which stretch from the neighbourhood of Gayá to the banks of the Panchána, on which the village of Giryak stands, and, as a matter of fact, the hill which rises above the village—so far from being solitary—is a mere offshoot of Vipulagir at Rájgir, and is not less than six miles in length.

Secondly, from the "solitary hill" Fah-Hiyan proceeded south-west, one yojana, to Nála. Now Nála has been identified most satisfactorily with Bargáon* by position and by the aid of inscriptions, but strange to say, Bargáon is exactly six miles north-west of Giryak. If General Cunningham's identification of Giryak be right, Náländá must have been situated somewhere to the *south* of the Rájagriha hills, in the middle of the Nowádá valley, but he identifies it with Bargáon which is exactly *north-west* of the Rájagriha hills, in the centre of the Bihár valley. For this reason it is clear that "the hill of the solitary rock" could not be Giryak. The two identifications involve a dilemma, because no amount of argument can make Bargáon six miles south-west of Giryak, when actually

* 'Ancient Geography,' p. 469.

it is six miles in the very opposite direction. The identification of Nálandá with Bargáon (Viháragráma) is undoubtedly right, and as a consequence, that of the "solitary hill" with Giryak—undoubtedly wrong. General Cunningham writes as one reason for identifying Nálandá with Bargáon—"Fah-Hiyan places the hamlet of Ná-lo at one yojana, or seven miles, from the hill of the isolated rock, *i. e.*, from Giryak, and also the same distance from New Rájagriha. *This account agrees exactly with the position of Bargáon with respect to Giryak and Rájgir.*" Now in reality both translators agree in placing Nálandá to the *south-west* of the hill, and as a matter of fact Bargáon is *north-west* of Giryak.

General Cunningham must, therefore, rely on two arguments, 1st, the supposed etymology of Giryak, *i. e.* ek giri = one (= a solitary?) hill; 2nd, the coincidence of the fable of the forty-two questions. As regards the first, it is entirely opposed to all principles of etymology, and I feel sure no instance of a similar inversion of the numeral can be found throughout the whole range of Indian names. It must be of course admitted that Fah-Hiyan relates a certain incredible story about *his* "solitary-hill," which Hwen Thsang reproduces two centuries later in connection with *his* Indra-Saila peak, but the supposed event must be allowed to have happened, or rather to have been alleged to have happened, at least a thousand years before the visit of even the earlier pilgrim, and it is by no means improbable that the recluses of the one vihára contended with those of the other for the possession of the actual site of so remarkable an event in the career of their great teacher. Scarce two centuries have passed away since Oliver Cromwell was gathered to his fathers, yet three museums at least lay claim to the exclusive ownership of his scull, while no less than half a dozen cities vie with each other for the honour, of being the birth-place of Dante, of Chaucer, and of Christopher Columbus. An accidental coincidence as to the locality, made the scene of a mythical fable, can scarcely be sufficient, to convert the end of a rugged chain of mountains into a "small isolated rock, standing by itself,"—especially when such an identification is diametrically opposed to given directions and distances, and to distinct nomenclature.

I have no hesitation in identifying the "solitary hill" with that rocky peak at Bihár, which rises by itself in the midst of the plain covered with rice and poppy fields, and which gently slopes from the northern foot of the Rájgir hills to the banks of the Ganges itself. My reasons for so doing are: first,—correspondence of the relative distance and position of the Bihár rock and Patna, and of the solitary hill and Pataliputra; second,—the agreement of the relative distance and position of the Bihár rock and Bargáon, and the "solitary hill" and Nálandá; third,—natural appearances of the hill itself.

Some great Buddhistic fane once stood on the top of the Bihár rock. The dargáh of Malik Bayú Ibráhím, which now surmounts it, is

composed almost entirely of the materials of a Buddhist temple, and chaityas and portions of gateways, &c., have been found by me, both on its summit and at its base, and the traditions of the people still make it the site of a famous "Maghaia" [Buddhist ?] Sanghat [monastery ?]. Passing slowly one day towards the northern peak of the hill, I found a remarkable figure between the crevices of the rock. It is unique as far as my collection is concerned, and bears a dated inscription. I extract a description of the figure from my catalogue, No. CCXVIII. Buddha is represented seated on a lotus pedestal in the attitude of instruction, the five compartments of the throne which support the figure are filled by the representations of six devotees and two Nágas who appear to be listening to his discourse. On either side of the principal figure, two other Buddhas are seated in European fashion. Close to the head of the main figure are small Buddhas, and on either side of the two seated Buddhas, two other Buddhas standing. To the right and left are groups of Buddhas similar to the main one, and above this, supported by four attendants, is a Buddha in the state of 'nirváṇa,' and above this, there is a fourth group of three Buddhas seated in the same attitude as in the main group. The figure is two feet nine inches high, and bears an inscription on the plinth of which the following is Bábú Rájendralála's transcript.

1st line. महाराजा * * भट्टारक श्रीमन्मदन * * देव प्रवर्द्धमान
2nd line. जैनराज — सम्व * वैसाखदिने २४.
3rd line. * * * * धर्म्माय दान पवत्रिके (यं)
4th line. मरण स्वीक स:मयिकस्य: ॥

"On the 24th of Vaisákha in the samvat —— (?) of the Jaina king, the great king, the worshipful S'rí Madana (Pála) Deva reigning. This deed of religious gift of —— Sámayika."

This inscription is doubtless of considerable historical importance, and may well give occasion to various surmises to the religion of king Madana Pála Deva, who is here spoken of as *Jaina*. May not he and his ancestors have been Buddhists ?

The view from the solitary rock is most striking, especially during the rainy season, when the streams once more begin to flow in their deserted beds. During this time of the year, a series of melás, or gatherings, take place, which are very greatly resorted to both by Muhammadans and Hindús. The view is bounded on the south by the rugged hills of the Rájgir chain, which stretch far away to the west, further than the eye can reach, and which, still covered with trees and flowering shrubs as of old, seem in the evening light to possess a purple hue as rich as that of the Apennines at home. To the east one catches, amidst luxuriant groves of trees, occasional glimpses of the ancient mosques and the still more ancient fort of Bihár, and beyond it stretches an even plain of rice and poppy lands till the gaze is arrested by the bold outline of the Shaikhpúra hills in Munger. The prospect to the north is

precisely similar, a plain broken only by groves and tanks, through which the Pancháṇa once poured its water into the Ganges, and which is bounded only by the banks of the sacred stream.

The Bihár fort lies nearly a mile east of the foot of the hill, and it was between the fort and the hill, and along the banks of the Pancháṇa river that the old Hindu city flourished. The shape of the fort is an irregular pentagon, and its sides were composed of large masses of grey stone, quarried, of course, from the neighbouring hill. The ground on which the fort stands is a natural plateau raised considerably above the level of the surrounding country. The wall appears to have been eighteen or twenty feet thick, and twenty-five or thirty feet in height, and its circumference measures eight thousand five hundred feet. The distance from the north to the south gate is two thousand eight hundred feet, and from the east to the west two thousand one hundred feet. There are traces of enormous buildings of brick in the centre, but of these I shall speak hereafter. There appear to have been few bastions projecting from the side; but the north gate, which is still tolerably perfect, was flanked by towers. The remains existing within the fort may be divided into three classes;—1st. The ruin of a smaller Muhammadan brick fort and houses belonging to the same period. 2nd. Those of Hindú buildings and temples. 3rd. Those of the great vihára, or college, of Buddhistic learning. As far as this book is concerned, I shall speak alone of the latter. Nearly all the centre of the fort, on either side of the road which crosses it, is taken up by brick quarries. The proprietor of these pays Rs. 40 a month to the zamíndár, or owner of the freehold, of the fort for the exclusive right of excavating it, within certain limits, for bricks and brick-dust, the supply of which commodities seems quite inexhaustible. The workmen light daily, at a depth of from fifteen to twenty-five feet from the surface, on the entire foundations of buildings, composed of bricks of precisely the same shape and size, as those found at Nálandá and Rájagriha. The larger ones sell now-a-days for as much as two pice a-piece. In the midst of this mass of rubbish, Buddhistic carvings are daily turned up. I have seen as many as four chaityas dug out in half an hour. The carvings found here are chiefly chaityas, votive tablets, and mouldings containing figures of Buddha in different positions. These chaityas are of all shapes, round, circular, square, and twelve-sided, and contain mostly the usual typical figures of Buddha. They differ greatly in design and some of them are very beautiful. A group of them appear in one of the photographs of my collection. They were probably all surmounted by umbrellas, or rather by series of umbrellas, which are generally broken off, and were in many instances carved in separate pieces of stone. The tablets alluded to vary from one foot to three feet in height, and generally contain one or more figures of Buddha under a canopy, and often bear the Buddhist creed. The cornices contain

long rows of Buddhist figures, seated under canopies in different positions with a moulding a little above and below. These latter are most graceful in design. I have several specimens perfectly unmutilated. The Buddhist creed is often engraved on the upper or lower moulding. It would be very uninteresting to attempt a description of all the carvings found in the fort, so I propose to mention merely the most remarkable. 1st. A figure of Padmapáni or Surya, in a very peculiar kind of white stone or marble, which bears *all the appearance of having been calcined by fire.* It is three feet seven inches high. The feet rest on a throne divided into seven compartments, in each of which there is the figure of a galloping horse. The head is surmounted by a conical jewelled crown, from beneath which the hair falls profusely on the shoulders in ringlets. Either hand grasps a lotus. The figure is ornamented with an elaborate girdle and necklace ; a sword is girded on the left side and the dhúti is twisted very closely around the legs, and finally disappears into a pair of boots. An attendant stands on either side, and a small figure at each corner is seen in the act of discharging an arrow from a bow.—[LII]. Alto-relievo figure of Buddha seated in the attitude of contemplation, two feet six inches high, covered by an elaborate canopy, supported by pillars. The background within the arch consists of pilasters, dragons, and chaityas. Above the arch, and surrounded by scroll work, is a row of five inches, each containing a Buddha.—[LIII]. A very fine and unmutilated figure of Buddha, one foot eight inches high. An attendant is standing on either side and above their heads is a chaitya. The figure is surmounted by a pípal tree.—[LVI]. Upper portion of the canopy of a figure of Buddha, exquisitely carved. The niches in it are surrounded by the peculiar ribbed pattern which appears so prominently in the ornamental brick work of the great Nálandá temple.—[LVII]. A semi-circular slab of basalt containing thirty-three figures of Buddha seated in three rows, and in different positions, and precisely similar to those found at Nálandá. They evidently once formed portions of a complete circle of similar figures, and still bear marks of the metal clamps which joined them together. They evidently formed portions of a dedicatory tope.—The next piece of carving I have chosen for illustration is a portion of the canopy of a figure. The design is singularly graceful, and I regret the portions of it are too small and broken to admit of being joined together. Another remarkable piece of sculpture is a figure of Buddha under a canopy two feet two inches high, resting on a pedestal of lotus flowers supported by scroll work. The pillars have less decoration than usual, and there are no niches above the canopy. On either side of the principal figure there is a Buddha, seated in European fashion on a stool or chair, and on either side of the head is a small Buddha, cross-legged in the attitude of contemplation. There is a similar figure at the top of each figure. The chief portions of cornice found contain small

figures of Buddha under pillared canopies, but some are of different design, *e. g.*, one piece is divided into compartments by curious short pillars, with a ribbed pattern in the centre. The compartments thus formed contain alternately a lion-couchant and a richly caparisoned elephant. Another slab, seven feet long, contains grotesque dancing figures surmounted by plain mouldings. This piece is particularly worthy of note; for the costume depicted is almost identical with that worn by the jesters of the Middle Ages of European history. The next carving worthy of note is a figure of Padmapáni under a canopy, one foot four inches high. On either side of the central canopy were two carved panels. One is broken off, but the other exhibits a fine piece of scroll work springing from the hands of a grotesque figure. A seated figure of Máyádevi, one foot seven inches high, seated on a pedestal of lotus leaves. The legs are crossed, and the sides of both feet are turned outwards, and exhibit the royal signs. The hands rest on the knees, the left grasping a lotus stalk; the earrings are circular and the ornaments (especially the *batísí*) are very large. A spangled dhúti descends from a jewelled girdle to the feet. There are small female attendants on either side; the one to the right being four-armed. Portion of the background of a figure of Buddha. A pillaster and part of an arch covered with the most minute and exquisite ornamentalia. Inside it a dragon and rider are seen in the act of destroying an elephant. Another specimen of the same sort of carving differing in detail and design from the last. As regards the square tablets containing figures of Buddha, they have been generally described at the bases of pillars, but I believe this to be wholly erroneous; for I found piles of them in front of the Nálandá temple, and they are met with in great number in the Bihár fort. I believe them to have been purely votive, serving exactly the same purpose and end as the chaitya. These are of inconsiderable thickness, generally oblong, sometimes rounded at the top. They vary from one foot to two or three feet in height, and are of proportionate breadth. Besides these Buddhistic sculptures I found very few Hindú figures, the only one of them worthy of description being that of a bull, most artistically executed, and wearing a string of bells round the neck.

About one hundred feet inside the great northern gate of the fort once lay a broken monolith, about fourteen feet high, and oval in shape. General Cunningham gives an account of it [*vide* Report of Archæological Tour of 1861-62.]

Bábú Rájendralála Mitra writes of it as follows;—*.

"One mile due east† from the dargáh, and about a hundred yards inside the northern gate of the old fort of Bihár, there lies a sandstone pillar, which bears two separate inscriptions of the Gupta dynasty. Unfortu-

* Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, XXXV, p. 270.

† This is a mistake. The pillar was due north of the dargáh.

nately the surface of the stone has peeled off considerably, so that both the inscriptions are incomplete. The upper inscription, which is of Kumára Gupta, has lost both ends of every line, being probably about one-third of the whole. The lower inscription has lost only the left upper corner, and some unknown amount at the bottom, where the pillar is broken off. But as the remaining portion of the upper part is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitarí pillar inscription, nearly the whole of the missing part of the left upper corner can be restored at once. This record belongs to Skanda Gupta, the son and successor of Kumára Gupta.

"In the plate the upper inscription is numbered 1 and the lower one 2. The former extends to 13 lines, and bears the name of Kumára Gupta, whose eulogium it is perhaps intended to be. I say "perhaps" deliberately, for a large portion at the beginning of every line being lost, and it being impossible to give a connected translation, I cannot be certain that the record did not contain same other name which has now been lost. In the fourth line the word *Kavya*, or "funeral cake," may refer to Kumára Gupta, whose name occurs in the 3rd line, and the record may consequently belong to Skanda Gupta, but in the absence of connecting words such a supposition cannot be justifiable. The document is most probably in verse, and the word Chandra in the first line suggests the idea that the Kumára Gupta of the record was the son of Chandra Gupta II. of the Kuhan Pillar. The figure for the year in the last line is perfectly clear, and is indicated, as usual in Gupta records, by three parallel lines, but the letters before and after it are very doubtful, and no reliance can be placed on the date. The letter preceding the 3 may be a 60, and some of the letters after the letter for S'aka may be figures, but I am not certain of their value. As Kumára was the sixth in a direct line from S'ri Gupta, the founder of the Gupta dynasty, it is certain that the date, whether 3 or 63, cannot be of the Gupta era; for according to the Udayagiri and S'anchi inscriptions, Chandra Gupta II. lived from 82 to 93 of that era. It must therefore be either of the reigning sovereign, or of some now unknown era, other than that used in the Alláhábád column inscription.

"The second inscription is even more imperfect than the first, and has no date; but there is no doubt of its being an edict of the Gupta who recorded the Bhitarí inscription, or of one of his descendants. General Cunningham imagines it to be a counterpart of the Bhitarí record, and says that the portion extant "is letter for letter the same as the opening of the Bhitarí pillar inscription." Such, however, is not the case. It is true, the first line has an epithet which occurs in the first line of the Bhitarí inscription, and lines 3 to 12 are made up of words whose counterparts are seen in that record. It may also be admitted that Kumára Devi, the wife of Chandra Gupta I, is named in the 5th line, and the word Gupta occurs in the 10th,

which leave no doubt as to the race of the sovereign who recorded the document. But as no specific name is legible, and the words common to the two records are mostly adjectives expressive of royal qualities which are generally attributed to all Hindú sovereigns, their evidence cannot be accepted as conclusive as to the identity of the two records. Were it otherwise, still it would be of no use, for we have positive proof to shew that they are not identical. The second line of the Bihár record has a word which does not occur in the first two lines of the Bhitarí inscription, and the matter from the 13th line to the end, if my reading be correct, is new. In the 18th line there is mention made of Bhaṭṭa Guhila Swámin, whose name does not occur in the Bhitarí column. The conclusion, therefore, that I come to is, that the two documents were put up by the same race, and very likely by the same king, but on different occasions, and to record different occurrences. There is nothing in the record to justify the positive opinion of General Cunningham that it belongs to Skanda Gupta, son of Kumára Gupta."

Tentative Readings of the Bihár Pillar Inscriptions.

No. I. (१) इति चन्द्र+न्द्रानुजत+धन्यो (?) गुणरनद्दः
(२) ध्यपिघ्रनभुविस्वांसेन यः ख्यातः स्वकिंकु
(३) मवयस्यो गूढविक्रमेण कुमारगुप्ते
(४) एतस्य देवस्य षि रुव्यकव्यैः सदाष्टगेभ्यो मि
(५) षोकरद्देवनिकेतन सद्मे चिवंशापम्यः
(६) —स्वं मोढस्तम्भवरोच्छ्रयप्रभाधे विमण्ड
(७) हस्ताणां कुसुमभराननताग्रसुभव्यकद्म्बस्तवक
(८) भट्टार्य्यायाभातिग्टवं नवाधनिर्म्मोकनिर्म्मल
(९) अनुप्रधानैर्भुविमन्त्रिभिस्च दाकात्मसु+
(१०) भुजाच्छ्रायमेव चक्रे भट्टार्य्यादिः
(११) गुप्तवटे करम्भमिपतिताघकटकः कटः
(१२) मेतुः स्वकर्गुर्यंघ्रस्वचिदं सुकृतं भजतु नचं
(१३) कामस्वारे सन्साने ९ सकनुनेभिनाप

No. II. (१) +पृथिव्यामप्रतिरथस्य
(२) +नकसयस्य हृतान्तः
(३) श्चब्रस्वमेधा स्वर्गुः
(४) केषपौत्रस्य महाराजा
(५) +देव्यां कुमारदेव्यमुत्पन्नस्य
(६) +तत्परिग्टहीतो महादेव्यां
(७) मभागवतो महाराजा
(८) +महादेव्या प्रः भवदेव्या
(९) +पुत्रः तत्पादानुध्यातः
(१०) — — प्त स्व गुप्तः
(११) ++ ः परमभागवंतो

(१२) + + + भाग्टचे काजपरकुम्रले
(१३) + + य निर्विंवामचेंन
(१४) ह्न + + + ज़पग्किकुमारामात्य
(१५) ङ्गिकुलवणिकपाग्भिाग्कि
(१६) प्रचाग्किमौाख्किकगैाल्मिकमन्येख
(१७) वासकादीनन्धादिद्प्रासादोपजीविनः
(१८) नस्मात् विज्ञापितोस्मि मम पितामच्चेन
(१९) —भट्ट गुच्चिलस्वामिना भट्टार्य्यिका
(२०) पते बान्धवौ कोपतौ मोकाय

I have removed the pillar from the place in which it lay, half buried in the ground, and set it up on a brick pedestal opposite the Bihár court house. It is much to be regretted that so much of the inscription has disappeared, as to make its further translation impossible, but it is curious on account of its undoubted great antiquity, and as evidence of the Gupta rule in Bihár. From the enormous number of Buddistic remains found on the elevated plateau, which forms the site of the Bihár fort, there can be no doubt that a large vihára and other Buddhist buildings of more than ordinary importance once existed on the spot, but, more than this, the colossal fortifications which surrounded it make it more than probable that it also formed the seat of the government of the surrounding country and the residence of its rulers. Not only have we the Gupta pillar, but numbers of the inscribed figures found there, bear the names of the Pála rajás of Bengal, of Madna-pála, of Mahi-pála, of Ráma-pála and of Vighara-pála. Montgomery Martin* speaks of it as the residence of the Magha rája, but this is exceedingly vague, as everything *not* constructed within the memory of man, is universally stated in Bihár to be "Magha." We know that at one time Rájagriha was undoubtedly the capital of Magadha, and there can be little doubt that the metropolis was subsequently removed to Patáli, but of this Bihár tradition and history are silent. Such evidence as we have got, inclines me to the conclusion that Bihár was, for centuries preceding the Muhammadan conquest, both at any rate the residence of the subordinate Hindú, Buddhist, or Jaina governors of the country, if not of the kings themselves. It seems probable that even its occupation by the governors of the surrounding district had ceased before the capture of the ancient fort at the end of the twelfth century. The popular tradition of Bihár makes the seat of government at this time to have been at Rohtás, and we know that when Muhammad Bakhtyár Khiljí marched into the fort, he found nothing there but a vihára. Mínháj i Siráj gives the following account of the fall of the ancient seat of Buddhistic and Hindú learning in his Ṭabaqát-i-Náçirí.† "It is said by credible persons that he went to the gate of the

* 'Gya and Shahabad,' p. 92.

† "The History of India as told by its own Historians," by Sir H. M. Elliot, London, 1869, Vol. II, p. 306.

fort of Bihár with only two hundred horse, and began the war by taking the enemies unaware.... When Bakhtyár reached the gate of the fort, and when the fighting began, these two wise brothers [*i. e.*, Nizámud-dín and Samsám-ud-dín] were active in that army of heroes. Muhammad Bakhtyár with great vigour and audacity rushed in at the gate of the fort, and gained possession of the place. Great plunder fell into the hands of the victors. Most of the inhabitants of the place were Bráhmans with shaven heads. They were put to death. Large numbers of books were found there, and when the Muhammadans saw them, they called for some persons to explain their contents, but all the men had been killed. It was discovered that the whole fort and city was a place of study [madrasah]. For in the Hindí language the word Bihár (vihára) means a college." I feel by no means sure that the vihára thus destroyed was not a Buddhistic institution, and that the "Bráhmans with shaven heads" were not Buddhist monks. Strange to say, hardly a Hindú idol has has ever been found in the ruins, and some of the Buddhist figures bear inscriptions, *certainly not more ancient than the tenth century, possibly the eleventh.* The most modern of these Buddhist figures are those showing the Sage in the attitude of repose—the body leaning to one side, and the base and background decorated with the most profuse and exquisite ornaments, a very good example of which will be described when I come to speak of the ruins of Rohoí. In consequence of the extreme delicacy of the workmanship, these exquisite specimens of later Buddhistic art are scarcely ever to be found perfect, but I came on several mutilated figures of the kind in the ruins within the Bihár fort, and their base is generally covered with inscriptions, which serve to show that Buddhism flourished till a very late period in the heart of the country from which it sprung.

The Buddhistic remains of Bihár are not confined to the mounds at the fort. The dargáh or shrine of Qádir Qumesh which occupies its centre, is composed almost entirely of the materials of the vihára, and its pavement is studded with enormous chaityas and pillars. The faqírs of the shrine guard them with religious care, and eke a livelihood by permitting persons afflicted with toothache and neuralgia, to cure (?) their ailments by touching the afflicted parts with the very stone which their forefathers delighted to break, in order to gain the envied title of "the iconoclast [بتشکن]. A mile away from the fort, towards the banks of the Panchána are the remains of several Buddhist buildings, the site of which is marked only by heaps of bricks; for the stones and pillars have been removed to adorn the masjid of Habí Khán Súr and the great dargáh of Makhdúm Sháh Sharafud-dín. A careful examination of the places shew them to have been built almost entirely of Buddhist materials. The position of these stones prevent any examination of them, but I feel sure many figures and inscriptions would come to light, if such could be made. The beautiful masjid of Habí Khán is now

completely deserted, and I have found several carvings in the floor. In the enclosure which faces it, I noticed a magnificent slab of basalt more than six feet long, and a foot thick, lying imbedded in the earth. I got it turned over, and found in the reverse a most curious (perhaps unique) series of twenty figures under pillared canopies;—one, the god Ganesa; two to eleven, Incarnations of Vishnu [Hindú]; twelve to twenty, the nine planets [Buddhistic]. Again to the north of the fort, in a plain called Logání, there are traces of a large vihára and many granite columns. In the same direction I have found several beautiful basalt pillars which have been photographed. In the dargáh of Makhdúm Sháh Ahmad Charmposh, situated a little to the east of Logání, I found a splendid monolith covered with the most delicate carving, and the doorway of the shrine itself is a grand specimen of Buddhistic art, and, according to tradition, once served as the great entrance to *the* vihára in the old fort. A figure of Buddha once occupied the centre, and the plinth is composed of three rows of the most exquisitely sculptured foliage, &c., and two other mouldings which once, doubtless, contained figures, are now covered with several *yards* of finely carved Persian verse. The doorway is eleven feet high and seven broad.

We may now leave Bihár and travel northwards along the course of the Panchána. At Soh Serái, some two miles north of Bihár, are the remains of a Buddhist temple. The ground is strewn with greystone columns of considerable size, most of them broken in several pieces. The base and capitals are square, and the shaft varies in shape—being first octagonal, then sixteen-sided, and lastly circular.

As I have said in the preceding chapter, I identify these remains with the Kapotika Sánghoráma of Hwen Thsang, situated two or three lis to the north of the isolated rock. The following extract is Julien's terse translation of his description of the locality.

'A deux ou trois li au sud de ce couvent, il y a *une montagne isolée qui est taillée en terrasse*, et dont le sommet hardi et imposant est embelli par une riche végétation, des bassins d'eau pure, et des fleurs parfumées. Comme il est un lieu remarquable par la beauté de ses sites, on y a bâti un grand nombre de temples sacres, où l'on voit souvent des miracles et des prodiges aussi rares qu' extraordinaires.

'Dans un *vihara* qui occupe le centre du plateau, s'élève une statue, en bois de sandal, de *Ranar-tsen-ts'ai-pon-sa* (*d' Avalóbritéçvara bódhisattva*) * * * * On voit plusieurs dizaines d'hommes qui se privent de manger et de boire pendant sept ou même quatorze jours, pour lui adresser des vœux. Ceux qui sont animés d'une foi ardente voient immédiatement l'image entire du *Bódhisattva.* Alors du milieu de la statue il sort environné d'un eclat imposant, leur parle avec bienveillance et leur accorde l'objet de leurs vœux. Il y a aussi

un nombre considérable d'hommes à qui il est donné de le voir dans toute sa majesté. Aussi la multitude de ses adorateurs s'accroît-elle de jour en jour. Les personnes qui lui rendent des hommages assidus, craignant que la foule des visiteurs ne salît cette vénérable statue, ont fait élever autour, à une distance de sept pas, une balustrade en bois hérissée de pointes de fer. Ceux qui viennent saluer et adorer la statue, sont obligés de se tenir en dehors de la balustrade. Ne pouvant l'approcher, ils jettent de loin les fleurs qu'ils viennent lui offrir. Ceux qui réussissent à fixer leurs guirlandes de fleurs sur les mains et sur les bras du *Bodhisattva*, regardent cela comme un heureux présage, et se persuadent qu'ils verront l'accomplissement de leurs vœux.'

Three miles to the north of Soh, on the east bank of the river, which was once of considerable width, there are distinct traces of a stúpa and monastery, and the huge piles of brick on every side induce me to think that a flourishing town once surrounded the religious edifices. The whole of the ruins are encircled with luxuriant groves of pípal trees, and the villagers had collected all the fragments of chaityas, mouldings, &c., around their roots. A portion of a figure of Padmapáni was so firmly imbedded in the wood, that a piece nearly a foot square had to be removed before it could be extracted. The figures found at Rohoí are perfect and unmutilated, a very unusual circumstance in Bihár, the record on the tomb of whose saints generally winds up by telling us that the deceased "was a breaker of images, and God has therefore given him a place in Paradise." The whole of the idols appear to have been removed (doubtless at the approach of the Muhammadans) and buried some distance from the ruins the open plain. They were discovered there by the zamindár of Rohoí—a Bundelá Rájpút by caste—twenty years ago, and taken away by him to his garden, where I found them. They had been arranged merely for ornament, and he at once offered them to me. The principal idols are figures of Buddha in different positions resembling those already described. The finest is an idol, three feet two inches high, quite perfect, and resembling in many respects the one found at Tilláṛah. The crown worn is five-sided and very tall, and the body is not covered by a jacket. The female archers are seen at the feet of the attendants and not above them. Parallel to the head are figures holding scrolls. On the shoulders of the charioteer beneath the feet is seated a small female figure. The wheel of the chariot is in the centre, and a horse is seen within it with its head to the left. Of the remaining horses three gallop to the right and three to the left. A small figure of Padmapáni exquisitely carved. There is a Buddha seated in the hair, and a chaitya on either side of the head. Three alto-relievo figures of Buddha in the attitude of repose, in very fine black basalt, three feet nine inches. Around the body the stone has been completely removed. The body is inclined to the

right and is seated on a lotus throne supported by the richest scroll work. The right hand rests on the right knee, and the right foot depends from the throne, and is supported by a cluster of lotus blossoms. Its sole is turned outwards and bears the royal mark. The left foot is coiled up on the throne and shows the same mark as the hand. The richest possible carving is displayed on the ornaments. The dhútí is bound up at the waist by an elaborate girdle, and a scarf passes across the body from left to right. The hair is dressed in a conical chignon, five inches high, composed of innumerable twists. In the centre of it a Buddha is seated. There are ornaments behind the ears, from which ribbons or tassels depend. The throne (which is nearly concealed by ornaments) is a square of scroll work, at each corner of which a large bird is seated. At each side of the figure is an elaborately dressed attendant. Between these and the main figure are lotus blossoms, springing from a delicately carved stem. The halo which surrounds the head is oval in shape and most elaborately carved, and in the centre is a diamond-shaped jewel on a line with the face. Right and left of the figure are groups of grotesque attendants, from whose hands springs a flowing scroll of rich geometrical pattern, which forms the background of the figure, and in the midst of which five Buddhas are seated, in different attitudes and on separate thrones. It bears the following inscription, thus rendered by Professor R. G. Bhandarkar:—

श्रीमद्विग्रहपाल देवराज्य सम्वत् [figure indistinct ४ or ५] मार्गा॰ दिने१९. देयधर्मोयं सुवर्णाकार देहबुसुते ? सुतस्य.

"Year of the reign of Srímad Vigrahapala four [2] Maggasirsha, 19th day. This is a religious gift of the son of Dehabú, a goldsmith."

There are two Vigrahapálas in the Dínájpúr copper plate. The date of the latter is given as 1027, A. D. (See Prinsep's works, Mr. Thomas's Edition, vol. II. p. 271).

I also give a reading by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra—

श्रीमद्विग्रहपालदेवस्य राज्य सम्वत १२ मार्गदिने १५

दे * * य सवर्णकार देहे क ह * * सुत सुत

"On the 15th of the month of Márga (November-December), in the Samvat year 12 of the reign of S'rímat Vigrahapála Deva, (the rest illegible)."

Figure of Kabír, seated on a chair, with one foot resting on a stool. The figure is three feet high. The hair is dressed in a profusion of ringlets, and the body is very corpulent. One hand rests on the knee grasping a well filled money bag, and the other holds apparently a pouch or gourd. (5) Small figure of Máyádevi quite perfect—standing on a lotus-leaf pedestal, and holding a lotus-flower in either hand. A Buddha is seated on either side of the head.

To the north of Rohoí I have not succeeded in finding any Buddhist remains, and those to the east are of very little importance. At a village called Káltá, seven miles east of Bihár, there are the remains of a large stúpa, and at another village which adjoins it to the south, called Jeya (Jíár), there is one of those beautiful tanks of clear water, surrounded by luxuriant groves of mangoe and pípal trees, which generally bordered the site of a Buddhist monastery. As might be expected there is a pile of ruins to the south of the pond, and a large heap of broken images, chaityas, and pillars.

IX.—Ra'jagriha in the Maha'wanso.

The pages of Mr. Turnour's elaborate work contain frequent allusions to Bihár or, more correctly speaking, to Magadha. In the second chapter, referring to the events which occurred some time about the year B. C. 543, we learn that Bimbisáro was the "attached friend" of Siddhatto (Sákhya Muni), that he had been placed on the throne of Rájagriha, (which the translator mistakes for Rájmahall) by his father Bhátiyo in the fifteenth year of his age, that it was sixteen years subsequent to this event that the divine teacher propounded his doctrines to him, and that he continued to reign thirty-seven years after his conversion to the Buddhist faith. He was slain by his son Ajátasatru (the founder of new Rájagriha), the eighth year of whose reign saw the death of the sage, and who continued to rule in Magadha after this event for the space of twenty-four years. This information is very important in fixing the date of the removal of the capital to new Rájagriha. The death of Sákhya Muni was succeeded by a period of fasting and lamentation, during which the sacred edifices of the town were repaired. After this, the *théros,* with Mahá Kásyapa at their head, approached the monarch, and asked him to build for them "a session hall." He granted their request, and erected a splendid chamber in the place named by them, viz., *by the side of the Webhára* [Baibhár] *mountain, at the entrance of the Saṭṭapanni cave.* This confirms in every respect the identification of the cave made in Chapter IV. He then records the reigns of the four succeeding kings of Rájagriha, who all appear to have gained the throne by the murders of their fathers and immediate predecessors, and that finally some ninety years after the death of Buddha, the last scion of the paricidal race was deposed, and one Susanágo elected in his stead. A few years later, Rájagriha became the head quarters of one of the schisms in the Buddhistic Church, which had now begun to spring up on all sides. The founder of the new dynasty had a son called Kálásoko, who was succeeded by his ten sons reigning conjointly for some forty-four years. The last surviving brother was slain in Rájagriha by a Bráhman, named Chánakko, who placed a member of the old Moriyan dynasty, (one Chandagatto) on the throne, who reigned for thirty-four years. His son Bindusáro ruled

over *all India* for twenty-eight years, and was succeeded by "the pious and supernaturally wise Asoka," who caused *his own inauguration to be solemnized in the city of 'Pátaliputto.'* Rájagriha, then, appears, to have continued to flourish for at least two hundred and eighteen years after the death of Buddha. It was then that the old seat of government was given up to the Bráhmans as stated by Hwen Thsang, but Buddhism must have continued to flourish there; for we read almost in the next page of one Sonáko of Banáras coming to the "mountain-girt city [Rájagriha] on trade, together with his parents, attended by a retinue of fifty-five *bráhmanical devotees*, who had accompanied him thither."* He repaired at once to the great Kalanda-Venouvana monastery, and soon appears to have attained to sublime honour of the priesthood under the auspices of the théro Dásako, and became the means of converting to the faith of Buddha, Tisso, younger brother of Asoka and 'sub-king of Magadha.' The great Dharmásoka himself soon after became "a relation of the religion of Buddha."

In speaking of the number of Buddhist priests attracted to Ceylon during the reign of Duttagamani, the fourteenth in succession after the death of Buddha (B. C. 161—137), we find that one Indagutto, a sojourner in the vicinity of Rájagriha, came there, accompanied by 8000 *théros.* A still greater number came from Wesali, Banáras, Kausámbi, and other places. We are thus in possession of the fact that Rájagriha continued to be one of the chief seats of Buddhism in India up to a comparatively short time before the birth of Christ. Nálandá is not even mentioned as one of the viháras contributing members to the Ceylon assembly, and this lends aid to my own belief of the comparatively recent date of its erection and prosperity.

X.—Na'landa' [Barga'on].

The village of Bargáon lies exactly six miles south-west of Bihár and seven miles north-east of Rájagriha. From the row of conical mounds to the south of the modern village, the "solitary rock" of the former place, and the rugged mountains which once surrounded the ancient capital of Magadha, are distinctly visible, both objects presenting a break in the broad expanse of poppy-fields and rice-lands which meet the eye in all directions, and which gently slope from the foot of the Rájgir hills to the banks of the Ganges itself.

By its position, by the comparison of distances, and by the aid of inscriptions, Bargáon has been identified, beyond the possibility of a doubt, with that Vihárá-grám on the outskirts of which, more than a thousand years ago, flourished the great Nálandá monastery, the most magnificent and most celebrated seat of Buddhist learning in the world. When the

* Mahawanso, p. 29.

caves and temples of Rájagriha were abandoned to the ravages of decay, and when the followers of Tathágata forsook the mountain dwellings of their great teacher, the monastery of Nálandá arose in all its splendour on the banks of the lakes of Bargáon. Successive monarchs vied in its embellishment; lofty pagodas were raised in all directions; halls of disputation and schools of instruction were built between them; shrines, temples, and topes were constructed on the side of every tank and encircled the base of every tower; and around the whole mass of religious edifices were grouped the "four-storied" dwellings of the preachers and teachers of Buddhism.

Fah-Hiyan visited the spot in 415, A. D., and tells us that Sáripútra was born at Nálandá, and that he subsequently returned to it to enter nirváṇa. He also informs us that this memorable event in Buddhistic ecclesiastical history had been commemorated by the erection of a lofty town which he saw, but he says nothing of the existence of any vihára or sanghárárma. Hwen Thsang, according to the chronology of his travels, so ably and elaborately established by Major-General Cunningham, arrived at the gates of the great Nálandá vihára somewhere about the 1st March 637, A. D., and spent within its precincts, and in visiting the holy places in its immediate neighbourhood, no less a period than twenty-two months. His description of the antiquities of the place, of the manners, customs, and language of its inmates, of the pious gifts of its long line of royal benefactors, and of the architecture and decorations of its countless temples, pagodas, and shrines, is singularly minute and vivid, and fills a large space in the first volume of M. Julien's translation of the 'Mémoires.' Before proceeding to describe, and subsequently to attempt an identification, of its ruins, I feel bound to quote somewhat at length from the records of the pilgrim. He writes as follows: "Le dixième jour, les religieux du couvent de *Na-lan-to* (Nalandá vihára) envoyèrent au-devant de lui quatre hommes d'une virtu éminente [*i. e.*, to Bodh-Gayá]. Il partit avec eux et après avoir fait sept *yódjanas*, il arriva au village où est situé le couvent. Ce fut dans ce village (appellé *Nalandagrama*) que naquit l'honorable *Meo-lien* (*Máudgalya yána*). Au moment de son arrivée, il vit en outre deux cents religieux et un millier de fidèles qui accouraient au-devant de lui avec des étendards, des parasols, des parfums, et des fleurs. Ils tournèrent autour lui en célébrant ses louanges et entrèrent dans le couvent de Nálandá. Une fois arrivés, ils se joignirent à la multitude des premiers religieux. Quand le Maître de la loi eut fini de les saluer, ils placèrent sur l'estrade du président un fauteuil particulier et le prièrent de s'y asseoir. La multitude des religieux et des fidèles s'assit pareillement. Après quoi on chargea le weí-max (le *Karmadâna*, le sous-directeur) de frapper la plaque sonore Kien-tehi (*Gnanti*) et d'inviter à haute voix le Maître de la loi à demeurer dans le couvent, et à faire usage en commun de tous les ustensiles et effets des religieux qu'ils étaient rassemblés."

Here follows a long account of the interview of the traveller with the abbot Sitabhadra.

After describing with considerable minuteness the rations dealt out to him by the ecclesiastics of the vihára with an unsparing hand, he sets about the more difficult task of sketching its history, and writes,—

" Le mot (*Nálanda*) veut dire en chinois ' celui qui donne sans se lassser,' voici ce que les vieillards racontent à ce sujet. Au sud du couvent situé au milieu d'un jardin d'arbres *An-mo-lo* (*Amras*), il y avait un étang qui était habité par un dragon, nommé *Na-lan-to* (*Nálanda*). A côté, on construisit un couvent qu'on appela, pour cette raison, le couvent de *Na-lan-to* (*Nálanda vihára*).

" On rapporte encore que jadis Tathágata, à l'époque où il menait la vie d'un *Pan-sa* (Bôdhisattva), devint roi d'un grand royaume, et fixa sa résidence en cet endroit. Touché de compassion pour les orphelins et les indigents, il répandit constamment des bienfaits et des aumônes. Les habitants, pénétrés de reconnaissance, surnommèrent cet endroit ' *Le pays de celui qui donne sans se lasser.*' Dans l'origine, ce lieu était un jardin d'Amras, appartenant à un riche maître de maison (*Grihapati*). Cinq cents marchands l'achetèrent au prix d'un million de pièces d'or et le donnèrent au *Bouddha.*

" Dans cet endroit, le Bouddha expliqua la loi pendant trois mois, et parmi ces marchands, il y en eut beaucoup qui obtinrent le fruit (*de l'Intelligence, Bódhi*).

" Après le *Nirvána* du *Bouddha*, un ancien roi de ce royaume, nommé *Cho-kia-lo-o'-l'ie-to* (Çakrádetya), rempli de respect et d'amour pour le *Bouddha*, construisit à ses frais ce *kia-lun* (Sanghúráma).

" Ce roi étant mort, eut pour successeur son fils *Fo-to-k'io-to* (*Bouddha goupta*), qui, après avoir pris les rênes de ce grand royaume, construisit plus loin au sud un autre *kia-lun* (*Sangháráma*).

" Un peu plus loin à l'est, son fils, le roi *Ta-ta-kie-to* (*Tathágata*) bâtit un autre couvent.

" Plus loin au nord-est, son fils *Po-lo-o'-'tie-to* (*Báladitya*) bâtit un autre couvent.

" Dans la suite, voyant qu'un saint religieux venait de Chine, et se dirigeait vers lui pour recevoir de ses mains les provisions nécessaires, il fut transporté de joie, quitta son trône et embrassa la vie religieuse.

" Il eut pour successeur son fils *Ea-che-lo* (*Vadjra*), qui plus loin au nord construisit un autre couvent. Quelque temps après, un roi de l'Inde Centrale bâtit à côté un autre couvent.

" De cette manière, six rois, qui montèrent successivement sur le trône, se livrèrent chacun à de pieuses constructions. Le dernier de ces rois entoura tous ces couvents d'une enceinte de murs en briques et les réunit en un seul.

Une porte qu'il établit y donnait accès. Il construisit des salles séparées (pour les conférences), et partagea en huit cours l'espace qui se trouvait au centre des Sanghárámas. Des tours précieuses étaient rangées dans un ordre régulier; des pavillons ornés s'élevaient comme des pics élancés; des dômes hardis se dressaient au milieu des nues, et les faîtes des temples semblaient voler au dessus des vapeurs du ciel. De leurs fenêtres, on voyait naître les vents et les nuages, et au dessus de leurs toits audacieux le soleil et la lune entraient en conjunction. Tout autour serpentait une eau azurée que des lotus bleus embellissaient de leurs calices épanouis, et de beaux *kie-nie* (*Kanabras*), "*Butea frondosa,*" laissaient pendre leurs fleurs d'un rouge éblouissant, et des *Amras* les protégeaient au dehors de leur ombrage épais.

"Dans les diverses cours, les maisons des religieux avaient chacune quatre étages. Ses pavillons avaient des piliers ornés de dragons et des colonnes ornées de jade, peintes en rouge et richement ciselées, et des balustrades. Les linteaux des portes étaient faits avec élégance, les toits étaient couverts de tuiles brillantes dont l'éclat se multipliait en se reflétant, et variait à chaque instant de mille manières.

"Les *Sanghárámas* de l'Inde se comptent aujourd'hui par milliers; mais il n'en est point qui égalent ceux-ci par leur majesté, leur richesse et la hauteur de leur construction. On y compte, en tout temps, dix mille religieux tant du dedans que du dehors, qui tous suivent la doctrine du grand *Véhicule.* Les sectateurs des dix-huit écoles s'y trouvent réunis, et l'on y étudie toutes sortes d'ouvrages depuis les livres vulgaires, les *weito* (*Vedas*) et autres écrits du même genre jusqu'aux traités *In-ming* (*Hetonvidyæ*), *Cning-ming* (*Cabdavidyæ*), la médecine (*Tchikitsávidya*), *les sciences occultes* (*Krya*) et l'arithmetique (*Samkhyána*). On y compte mille religieux qui peuvent expliquer vingt ouvrages sur les Cástras, cinq cents qui en comprennent trente, et dix seulement, y compris le Maître de la loi, qui en possédent cinquante. Mais le maître *Riai-him* (*Cilabhadra*) les avait tous lus et sa virtu eminente et son âge vénérable lui avaient donné le premier rang parmi les religieux. Dans l'intérieur du couvent, une centaine de chaires étaient occupées chaque jour, et les disciples suivaient avec zèle les leçons de leurs maîtres, sans perdre un seul instant."

This, then, was Nálandá, as Hwen Thsang saw it, twelve centuries ago, let me now attempt to describe its ruins as they exist in our own times.

Approaching them from Bihár, we first arrive at an enormous tank, running due east and west for nearly a mile and about a quarter of a mile broad. It is now called the "Diggí Pokhar," and is surrounded on all sides by fine groves of mango trees. At the west end of the lake is situated the modern village of Begumpúr. About three hundred feet to the south of the village is a large square mound, once apparently flanked with small

towers and having no connection with the Buddhist remains, being evidently the ruins of a Muhammadan fort. Immediately to the south of this are two small Buddhist topes, some fifty feet in circumference and not more than six or eight feet high. I found in these several fine Buddhist and Hindú idols, notably a crowned figure of Vishnu, seated on his sacred bird; and several figures which I recovered from the village itself, evidently came from the same place. One thousand eight hundred and twenty-five feet south-west of these topes is a very beautiful square tank, known as the "Súraj Pokhar," which measures, as near as possible four hundred feet on each side. This pond was once flanked with a row of small pagodas on the north side covered with massive brick cupolas, and their ruins still exist in tolerable entirety. I clearly marked out six of these temples. On each side of the pond were three brick ghâṭs, and the ruins of these may still be traced. The banks of the tank served also as the repository for chaityas. Several of these were taken out of the tank by me, and I saw many others beneath the clear water. About twenty feet to the east of the tank is a mound, evidently formed of the remains of some large brick building, surmounted by a luxuriant *bar* tree. Due south of this, and at a distance of one thousand two hundred feet, is another enormous mound six hundred feet in circumference, and nearly fifty feet in height. Between this and the next tumulus, which is seven hundred and fifty feet distant in the same direction, is a brick enclosure containing seven Buddhist figures, now regularly worshipped as Hindú deities. The largest, yclept the *Teliá Bhandár*, (see note in the concluding chapter), is of colossal proportions, and resembles very much, though it is of inferior workmanship, the great Srí Bullum Buddha of the Titrâwan monastery. The following are the measurements of the Teliá Bhandár—

	Feet	Inches.
Crown of head to chin,	2	6
Crown of head to seat of throne,	5	6
Length of head,	1	4
Length of foot,	1	3
Circumference of head at forehead,	4	4
Shoulder to elbow,	2	7
Elbow to hand,	1	8
Hip to knee,	3	2
Knee to ankle,	2	9
Round the wrist,	5	0
Round the breast,	5	7
Round the waist,	1	9
Round the thigh,	2	8
Round the neck,	3	1

Three hundred feet to the south of the last-mentioned tumulus is a third great tope, sixty high and more than one thousand feet in circumference, the largest and most important of the mounds, surrounded by a series of smaller topes, and forming the centre of the ruins of Bargáon. I found this on the 15th October, 1871, literally a small hill, the surface of which was broken only by a depression on the top, and the remains of a former excavation on the eastern slope; the sides covered with a tangled mass of thicket and brushwood, and studded here and there by a solitary mango or date tree.

The results of my excavations have been already given in the third chapter.

Three hundred feet to the south of this is a fifth mound, of about six hundred feet in circumference, but of greater elevation than any of the rest. Seven hundred and ninety feet south of this is a sixth tumulus of inconsiderable size and height. Seven hundred and thirty feet south of the sixth mound is a large lake, called the "Indra Pokhar," which faces the whole of the southern side of the ruins of the monasteries. The three central mounds are bounded on the west by three lakes, known respectively by the name of "Déhá," "Bullén," and "Kunduá;" and some distance west of the fifth tumulus is a pond, called "Suráha," on the east bank of which are unmistakable traces of Buddhist ruins. South of this is another pond called "Dudhdéhá," and a third known as "Satyauti," which also is faced on its east side by the ruins of a temple or tope.

Seven hundred and twenty feet due east of the great central tumulus is another enormous mound, which I shall designate as the seventh mound. It is nearly as large as the central mound itself, but of much less elevation. In the level plain between these two heaps is a mass of overgrown walls and jungle-covered hillocks, broken here and there by a square patch of scanty cultivation.

Some distance south-east of this seventh tope is the village of Kapteswari, and the remains of an eighth temple or vihára, nearly reduced to the level of the surrounding plain by the toil of an industrious cultivator, who yearly ploughs across its surface, and whose grandfather discovered some fine idols and pillars, which are now in my collection. The east of the ruins is faced by a tank called the "Pansokar." The modern village of Bargáon lies to the north of the ruins, and is in a line between the Pansokar and Súraj Pokhar tanks.

The wall which surrounded the whole mass of conventual buildings is gone, and has left no trace; nor could the most diligent search light on the whereabouts of the great gate. Bargáon has been the brick quarry of Bihár for centuries; hence it is that the walls, gates, and houses have disappeared, while the massive tumuli formed by the débris of the temples are as yet untouched.

Before leaving Bargáon, I made a careful survey of the ruins between the mounds, and succeeded in distinctly tracing eight halls or yards. This mass of ruins lies parallel to the great mounds numbered by me III, IV, and V, and between them and No. VII. No. I (to the extreme south) is 114 feet east and west, and 84 feet north and south; No. II, 72 feet east and west by 40 feet north and south; No. III, 60 feet east and west by 50 feet north and south; No. IV, 40 feet east and west and 70 feet north and south; No. V, 195 feet east and west by 75 feet north and south; No. VI, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VII, 100 feet east and west by 70 feet north and south; No. VIII, 100 feet east and west by 60 feet north and south. I discovered in these ruins several gateways and pillars, but no idols. These are evidently the remains of the eight "halls of disputation," described by Hwen Thsang as being built on the land between the monasteries and the dwelling of the teachers of the "right law."

It is a remarkable fact that the line of mounds still bears the name of "*dagop*" by the country people. Is not this the *dágoba* of the Páli annals? They are also called *tílá* and *deárá.*

Subsequent to the excavations of October 1872, I employed with permission, for some three or four weeks, the labour of about twenty prisoners, and succeeded in making a deep cutting on the northern face of mound VII.

The result has been the partial uncovering of the northern façade of *a square building flanked by four circular towers*, about twenty-five feet in circumference. The whole of the wall is decorated with the most beautiful brick mouldings divided by lines of niches, containing Buddhist figures at regular intervals. The cornices which surround the towers are quite perfect, and the whole exterior appears to have been traversed by small staircases leading to the roof. The thorough exploration of these magnificent ruins would lead to results as important to the historian as to the archæologist, and I still hope the task may be undertaken at no distant day by the Government. There are no difficulties to contend with; the ground which is covered by these mounds, is a barren waste, and the proprietor, Chaudharí Wáhid 'Alí, is quite willing to permit their excavation, and to facilitate matters as much as he can.

Of the nature of these remains there can be little doubt. Various writers have made Bargáon the capital of a great kingdom, the seat of the rule of some mysterious prince of Magadha; but this theory seems to me distinctly negatived by the appearance of the ruins. At Bargáon one sees no lofty wall; no rugged battlements; no ruined towers and bastions,—the characteristic features of Kuságárapura, the royal city of Bimbisára, or of Rájagriha, the capital of his son. The exploration of its ruins already made, and every fresh excavation that may hereafter be accomplished, will, I think, lead to the conclusion that "Vihára-grám" was merely

a great "vihára" or college—perhaps rather a cluster of viháras—a university, in fact, of Buddhist learning, Buddhist philosophy, and Buddhist divinity—defended alone by its sanctity, patronised by a long succession of princes, and regarded by Buddhists generally as the chief seat of their faith from Tibbat to Ceylon.

XI.—Conclusion.

With the mound of rubbish and broken idols, which marks the site of the once doubtless important vihára on the northern shore of the Jír lake, ends my attempt to sketch the existing antiquities of Bihár.

Written, as it has been, at a distance from books and from those so able and so willing to give me assistance, I feel sure that it must be replete with errors and omissions; but I shall feel my labours amply repaid, if I have demonstrated to those who truly admire and understand the archæology of India, the vast importance of the subject. There is scarce a mile in the whole tract of country which does not present to the traveller some object of deep interest, and the curiosity thus awakened and intensified at almost every step, is speedily concentrated as it were, on the ruins of the hill-girt capital of Magadha, or the mounds and figures which mark the site of the greatest of great Buddhistic viháras. The associations of the former bring us back to that far distant Bráhmanical period, the obscurity of which is dispersed only at intervals by the occasional gleam of some recovered treasure from the poetical storehouse of the Mahábhárata or the Rámáyana; and then passing swiftly over the space of an unknown and indefinite number of centuries recal to our recollection the birth and growth and glory of the Buddhistic faith. Rájagriha belongs to one age of the religion of Sákhya Muni, and Nálandá to another: the former to the early days of the new faith; to the time of true Buddhistic austerity; of rude buildings; of mountain solitude; of the constant contemplation which was alone consummated in "nirvaṇa;" the second to the age of artistic cultivation and skill; of a gorgeous and luxuriant style of architecture; of deep philosophical knowledge; of profound and learned discussions; and of rapid progress in the path of civilization. In Rajgir, the archæologist lights uniformly on rude battlements of giant proportions, on temples of the crudest design; and on cave dwellings of the greatest possible simplicity of construction. The thousand years which elapsed brought about a vast and remarkable change: the grottoes of the "arhats" gave place to the four-storied and highly ornamented pagodas of the ecclesiastics of Bargáon; the four laws of Sákhya Muni were overladen with the interpretations and commentaries of a countless multitude of sages and philosophers; the simple topes of Rájagriha were exchanged for a style of architecture more gaudy and

elaborate perhaps, than any in the world; and intricate and profound discussions took the place of bodily austerity and mental abstraction. The monastery, or, more strictly speaking, the university of Nálandá, was as it were a circle from which Buddhist philosophy and teaching diffused itself over Southern Asia. It was here that Aryadeva of Ceylon attached himself to the person of the great teacher Nágárjuna and adopted his religious opinions, and it was here that Hwen Thsang spent a great portion of his pilgrimage in search of religious instruction.

But even in the far off times when Buddhism was as yet unknown, the remote period of Krishna and Bhíma and Jarásandha, we find the natural features of Rájagriha almost the same as when Sákhya Muni trod its mountain sides, five centuries before the birth of Christ, as when Hwen Thsang again described them after the lapse of eleven hundred years, or as they are seen year after year during our own time by the English traveller or the Jaina pilgrim. Let me quote a few lines from the great Sanskrit Epic, the deep interest of the subject being my excuse.

Mahábhárata, Sabháparva, 795—801, *and* 807—811.

उत्तीर्य सरयूं रम्यां दृष्ट्वा पूर्वांश्च कोशलां ।
अतीत्य जग्मुर्मिथिलां मालां चर्मण्वतीं नदीं ।
अतीत्य गङ्गां शोणं च त्रयस्ते प्राङ्मुखास्तदा ।
कुशचीरच्छदा जग्मुर्मागधं क्षेत्रमच्युताः ।
ते शश्वद्गोधनाकीर्णमम्बुमन्तं शुभद्रुमं ।
गोरथं गिरिमासाद्य ददृशुर्मागधं पुरं ।
एष पार्थ महान् भाति पशुमान्नित्यमम्बुमान् ।
निरामयः सुवेश्माढ्यो निवेशो मागधः शुभः ।
वैहारो विपुलः शैलो वराहो वृषभस्तथा ।
तथा ऋषिगिरिस्तात शुभाश्चैत्यकपञ्चमाः ।
एते पञ्च महाशृङ्गाः पर्वताः शीतलद्रुमाः ।
रक्षन्तीवाभिसंहत्य संहताङ्गा गिरिव्रजं ।
पुष्पवेष्टितशाखाग्रैर्गन्धवद्भिर्मनोरमैः ।
निगूढा इव लोध्राणां वनैः कामिजनप्रियैः ।

— — — — —

अपरिहार्या मेघानां मागधा मनुना कृताः ।
कौशिको मणिमांश्चैव चक्राते चाप्यनुग्रहं ।
एवं प्राप्य पुरं रम्यं दुराधर्षं समन्ततः ।
अर्थसिद्धिमनुपमां जरासन्धोऽभिमन्यते ।
वयमासादने तस्य दर्पमद्य हरेमहि ।
एवमुक्त्वा ततः सर्वे भ्रातरो विपुलौजसः ।

वार्ष्णेयः पाण्डवौ चैव प्रतस्थुर्मागधं पुरं ।
हृष्टपुष्टजनोपेतं चातुर्वर्ण्यसमाकुलं ।
स्फीतोत्सवमनाधृष्यमासेदुश्च गिरिव्रजं ।
ततो द्वारं समासाद्य पुरस्य गिरिमुच्छ्रितं ।
बार्हद्रथैः पूज्यमानं तथा नगरवासिभिः ।
मागधानां सुरुचिरं चैत्यकान्तरमाद्रवन् ।

Translation by the Rev. Dr. J. WENGER.

Passing the lovely Sarayú, seeing eastward Kosalá, going onward, they proceeded to (towards?) Mithilá, Mála, the Charmanvati river; (796) and passing the Ganges and the Sóna, those three immortal ones, with their faces eastward, and dressed in clothes of *kusa* grass, went on towards the Mágadha territory; and (797) having reached Goratha, that mountain ever crowded with cattle-wealth, (abundantly) watered, (covered) with beautiful trees, saw the Magadha city. (798) O king! great, full of cattle, well watered, salubrious, abounding with fine buildings does it look, that goodly Magadha residence. (799) Vaihára, that grand mountain,* Varáha (= Boar?), and Vrishabha (= Bull?), as well as the Rishi-mountain,— Sir—, goodly ones, having Chaityaka as their fifth (companion)—(800) these five large peaked mountains, covered with cool trees, (look) as if they, closely encompassing it with their compact bodies, protected *Girivraja*, (801) though they are hidden in woods, dear to lovers, of *lodhra* trees, and (adorned) with boughs dressed in blossoms,—fragrant and lovely (forests).

(807) Mágadha (town) was made by Manu so that the clouds might not avoid it; Kaushika and Manimán also conferred favours upon it. (808) Having got a residence so lovely, and on all sides difficult to attack, Jarásandha prides himself on his success; but on encountering him we will to-day mar his pride. (809) Having thus spoken, the valiant brothers all, Várshneya and the two Pándavasa, set out for the Mágadha town, (910) and reached it, even Girivraja, frequented by a people in excellent condition of body, crowded with men of the four castes, holding high festival, and inaccessible to an assailant. (911) Then having reached the city gate, which was a lofty hill, held in veneration by the descendants of Vrihadratha and the (other) inhabitants of the town, they ran into the interior of (or, up to) Chaityaka, the delight of the Mágadha people, (or, the ornament of the Mágadha city).†

* Or, *the rock Vipula.* If this rendering be adopted, the clause which succeeds "Sir," must be translated, "five goodly chaitakas," a rendering advocated by some able pandits. If one might read चैत्यकपञ्चकाः for चैत्यकपञ्चमाः, this rendering would be perfectly justifiable. J. W.

† I do not profess to understand the last line. Perhaps the clause "they ran into the interior of Chaityaka" should be inserted earlier, after the word "hill." Chaitya appears to have been a hill utilised as part of the fortifications of Magadha, (see ll. 815) or it may have been only a sacred tree. J. W.

I must now bid adieu to the historical associations of Bihár, and endeavour to point out in as few words as possible the practical results of my labours. *First*, The large number of inscriptions discovered by me, covering for the most part the base of some Buddhistic image or frieze, will tend to throw considerable light on the history of the Pála dynasty of Bengal. In the chapter on Bihár I have given two of the time of Madanapála and Vigrahapála; in that on Ghosráwan and Titráwan three of Mahipála, Rámapála, and Devapála; and I now proceed to give two others belonging respectively to the reigns of Gopála Deva and Mahipála. The former was found *in situ* at Nálandá, on the base of a very curious idol, of which the following is a tolerably correct description: a four-armed figure of a goddess, three feet high, seated on the back of a lion-couchant. On either side of the head are winged attendants. The hair is dressed in a conical shape, a miniature figure of Buddha being seated in the midst of it. The head is surrounded by an oval halo. The ornaments are as usual. The right leg is dependent from the throne, and rests on a lotus-blossom. The left is gathered up on the lion's back; the sole of the foot, being turned outwards, touches the right thigh and exhibits the "royal sign." The upper hands are upraised; the right holding a hammer, the left a mace. The lower hands grasp pincers, and are stretched forth right and left in the act of seizing the tongues of two unfortunate attendants who crouch at each corner of the figure, with their hands tied with cords behind their backs.

Bábú Rájendralála Mitra has given the following transcript and translation of the inscription in the plinth—

सम्वत् ७ आश्विनसुदि ८ परमभट्टारक महाराजाधिराज परमेश्वर श्रीगोपालराज निमा(?)न तद्भार्यां(र्य्यां) श्रीवागीश्वरीभट्टारिका सुवल्लवीदेसस्थाः।

"In the eighth of the waxing moon in the month of A'svina, Samvat 7, the most worshipful, the great king of kings, the great lord, Srí Gopála Rájá, and his wife the worshipful Vágís'varí of the country of Suvallavi, erected this."

Bábú Rájendralála remarks that the verb "erected" is a conjectural rendering of the doubtful letters *ni má na*, supposed to be the remains of the word *nirmána*, but General Cunningham sees in the same characters the word Nálandá. The inscription is of considerable historical importance.

The next inscription also comes from Nálandá, and from the jamb of the doorway described in the chapter on Buddhistic remains. The following reading of it is by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra—

श्रीमन्महीपाल. द(दे)वराज्ये सम्वत् ॥

चग्नि राघद्वार तते देयधर्मोयं प्रवरमा[म]हायान यायिनः परमोपासक श्रीमन्तैला-ढकीयग्राधीप कौशाम्बी विनिर्गतस्य हरदत्त नप्तृ गुरुदत्त सुत श्रीबालादित्यस्य यदत्र पुण्यं तद्भवतु सर्व्वसत्त्व राशेरनुत्तरज्ञानावाप्तय इति ॥

"In the reign of Srímat Mahipála Deva. Samvat 913 (= A. D. 856.) This is a religious gift of Báláditya, the son of Gurudatta, and grandson of Haradatta, a follower of the noble Maháyána school, a devout worshipper, who came from (the city of) Kausámbí, (wherein he was) the chief among the wise men of the auspicious Tailáḍhaka (clan). Whatever merit may accrue from this, may the same be to the advancement of the highest knowledge among the mass of mankind. The end."

The date is evolved by the translator from the words *agni*, "fire," (= 3); *rágha*, "power," (= 1); and *dvára*, "ḍoor," (= 9), which being transposed by the rule of *ankasya vámágati*, gives 913.*

The two marks, however, which succeed the word *samvat*, somewhat resemble the figure II, and Professor Rámkrishna Gopál Bhandarkar reads it so accordingly. The inscriptions given in the present paper yield the following royal names of the Pála race—

1. Go Pála.
2. Mahí Pála.
3. Madana Pála.
4. Vigraha Pála.
5. Deva Pála.
6. Ráma Pála.

Nos. 4 and 6 are additions to the list compiled by Bábú Rájendralála Mitra from the combined results of several plates. Great light will be thrown on the subject by the complete deciphering and translation of the Munger plate, a task now in the able hands of the translator of the Nálandá inscriptions. I have, however, compiled the following list from the sources at present available—

1. *Go Pála*
2. *Dharma Pála*
3. *Súra Pála*
4. *Mahí Pála*
5. *Deva Pála*
6. *Vigraha Pála* I.
7. *Madana Pála*
8. *Vigraha Pála* II.

* Since supplying the above translation, I have had an opportunity of examining the jamb, and looking at the smooth space after the worḍ *Samvat*, just enough for six letters, I am disposed to think that the figures or symbolical letters for the year were never put in. The two upright strokes after the word are unmistakably *dándás* and not figures. The word which I first read *rágha* is *radha*, which is a name of the month *Vaisákha* (April-May). This would give the date 3rd of Vaisákha. The words *dvaratate* would in this case mean, "spread on the door, *i. e.*, the gift was given at the gate. R. MITRA.

9. *Rájya Pála*
10. *Jaya Pála*
11. *Náráyana Pála*
12. *Mahendra Pála*
13. *Naya Pála*
14. *Ráma Pála*
15. *Govinda Pála.*

The name of the last mentioned monarch occurs in an inscription in Gayá,—dated, Samvat 1232 = A. D. 1175, and in another of 1135, = A. D. 1178.

The *kutila* of the inscription of Ráma Pála, is quite modern, but it exists on the plinth of a typical Buddhist figure. I place Ráma Pála, therefore, immediately before Govinda Pála, and assign to him the approximate date of 1150. The carving in question is perhaps the most beautiful in my collection, and its existence tends to shew Buddhism in general, and the Titráwan vihára in particular, flourishing within fifty years of the Muhammadan conquest of Bihár. Everything I have seen, tends to establish the comparatively modern existence of Buddhism in Bihár, and even now Jaina (or in other words *sectarian Buddhist*) temples crown the hills of Rájagriha, and exist and prosper, both at Nálandá and in the city of Bihár itself.

A careful examination of the plinths of all the idols would, I feel convinced, disclose a greater number of inscriptions, nearly all of which would tend more or less to throw light on the dates and succession of the great line of Pála kings which between the eighth and the eleventh centuries at any rate, exercised supreme power in Bihár. Everything I have found shews the city of Bihár to have been their capital, so far at least as Magadha was concerned, and to have been as important and prosperous during the epoch I am writing of, as Kuságárapura was at the time of Bimbisára, or Rájagriha under the auspices of his son Ajátasattru and his successors.

Secondly.—Socially speaking the figures now collected throw a great deal of light on the domestic life of the times they belong to. They illustrate most amply the shape and form of ornaments, weapons, and utensils; the character and pattern of dress (*e. g.*, the existence of boots !), the details of religious ceremony, the style of architecture, and every other point connected with the manners and customs of the period. They serve to show the effect of Buddhistic art on the national taste, and are invaluable aids to the painter and sculptor. Thus much for the social aspect of the question. But it may well be asked what has been the effect of the long existence of Buddhism on Bihár society, or has it merely passed over its surface like a shallow stream, leaving no marks by which to track its course? Buddhism, the great leveller of caste distinctions, the social

and religious system which saw no distinction between the Bráhman and the Sudra, the priest and the artificer, has had a considerable effect in giving the great commercial clans of Bihár a position far different than that which they would have occupied in a purely Bráhmanical community. Nearly the whole trade of Bihár is in the hands of the *Telís* (or oil-sellers), and they rank far higher than the majority of the *banyan* or merchant class. This distinction has doubtless a foundation in Buddhistic times, when the Telís had become leading men in the social scale.* The great doorway at Bargáon was dedicated "to the advancement of the highest knowledge" by Báláditya—"*chief among the wise men of the Tailáḍhaka clan*;" an image near Giryak appears to have been "consecrated by the pious devotion of a *Telí* of Mathurá;" while the great Buddha at Bargáon is still called the *Teliá Bhandár*, and one of the most remarkable figures at Titráwan,—the *Teliá Dhube* (?). In addition to this, the Ghosráwan tank is still called the Sáo Pokhar,—Sao being the common *upádhi* of the oilman's tribe. I might multiply instances of the effect of Buddhism on caste, but for the present this will suffice.

Thirdly.—As regards the architecture and ceremonies of the Buddhistic faith, and the history of its gradual development, the writer could receive no little aid from a careful consideration of the Bihár sculptures. They also tend to throw considerable light on the much vexed question of the priority or otherwise of the Bráhmanical and Buddhist creeds. The great *linga* found at Aphsar is an instance of what I mean. Everything I have found in Bihár fully convinces me of the anterior existence of Hinduism, the coeval duration of both faiths, and the final decay of Buddhism, under the combined influence of internal decay, Bráhmanical increasing power, and Muhammadan conquest.

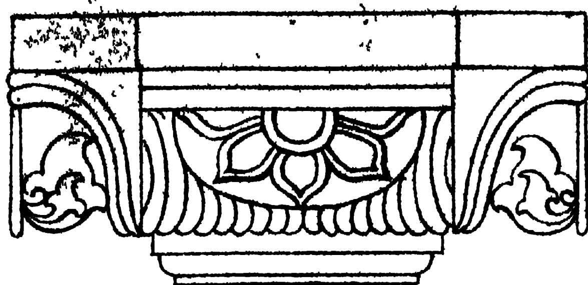
I trust my readers will be now convinced that the historian, the artist, and the antiquarian, may some day derive material assistance from an inspection and careful consideration of the temples and monasteries I have excavated, and the collection I have formed. For myself I disclaim anything but the very smallest amount of scientific knowledge on the subject, and cheerfully leave the drawing of historical and social deductions and conclusions to others, being more than content with the no small merit of having described the greater part, arranged a lesser portion, and discovered a few of the Buddhistic remains of Bihár in Patna.

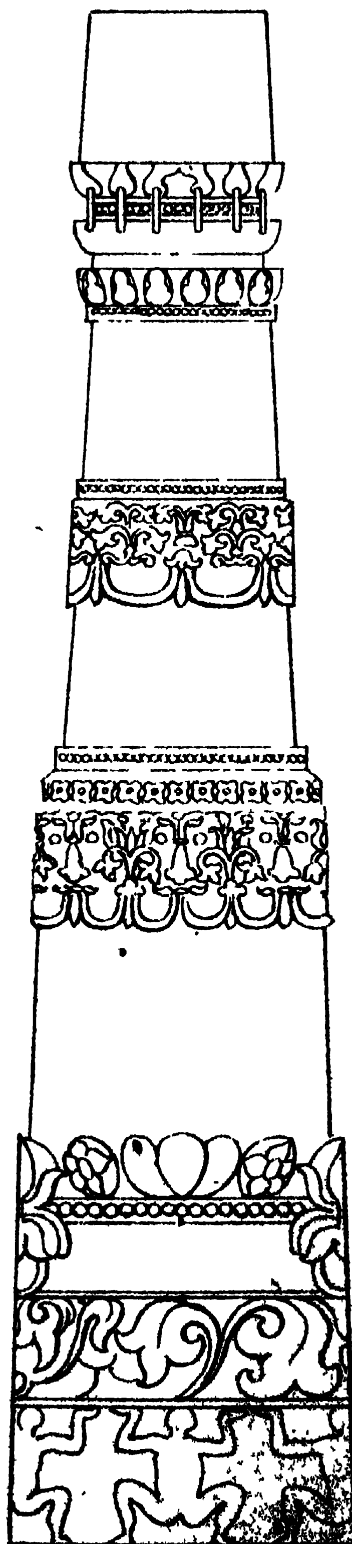
* So large is the proportion of Telís in Bihár society, that a common popular refrain says—

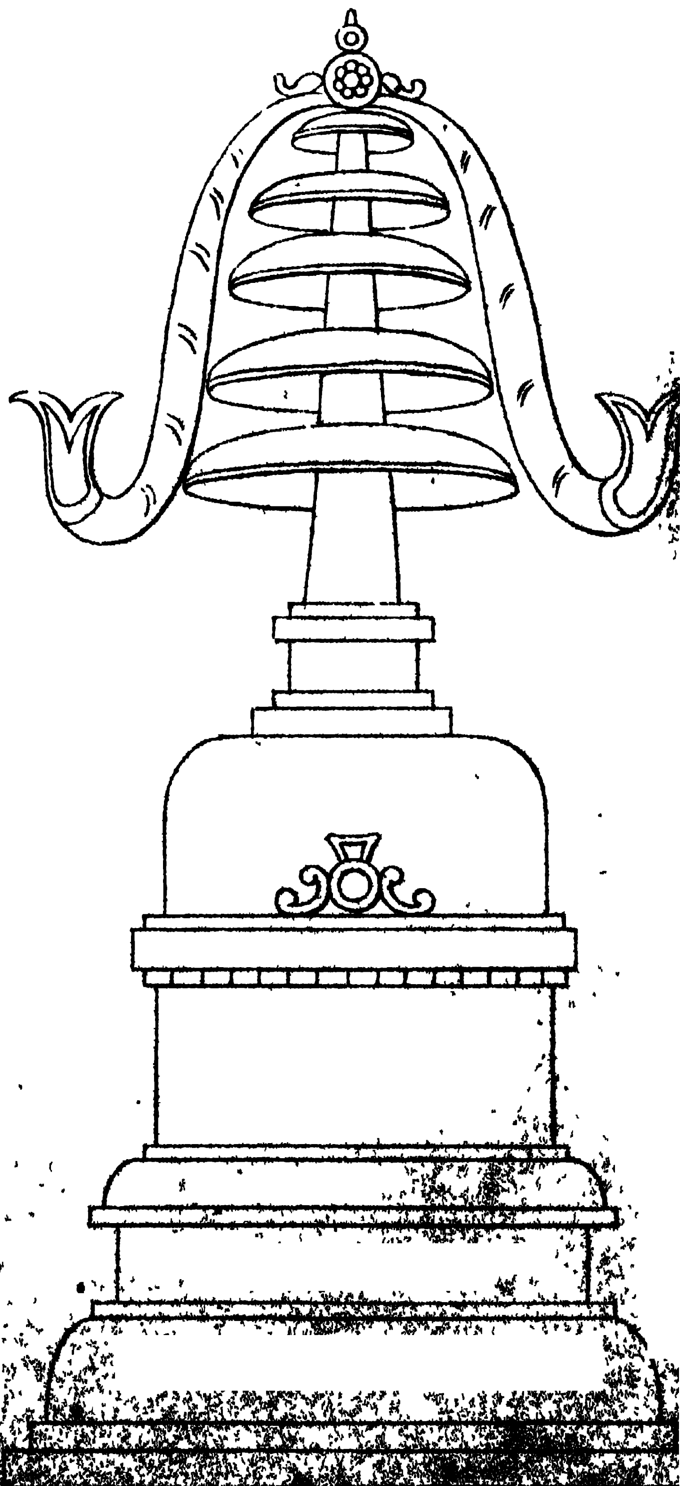
ترک تیلي تاڑ   وي تینون هین بهار

Turks (Muhammadans), Telís, and Tár-palms, these three make up Bihár.

Journ. A. S. Bengal. Pt. I. 1872

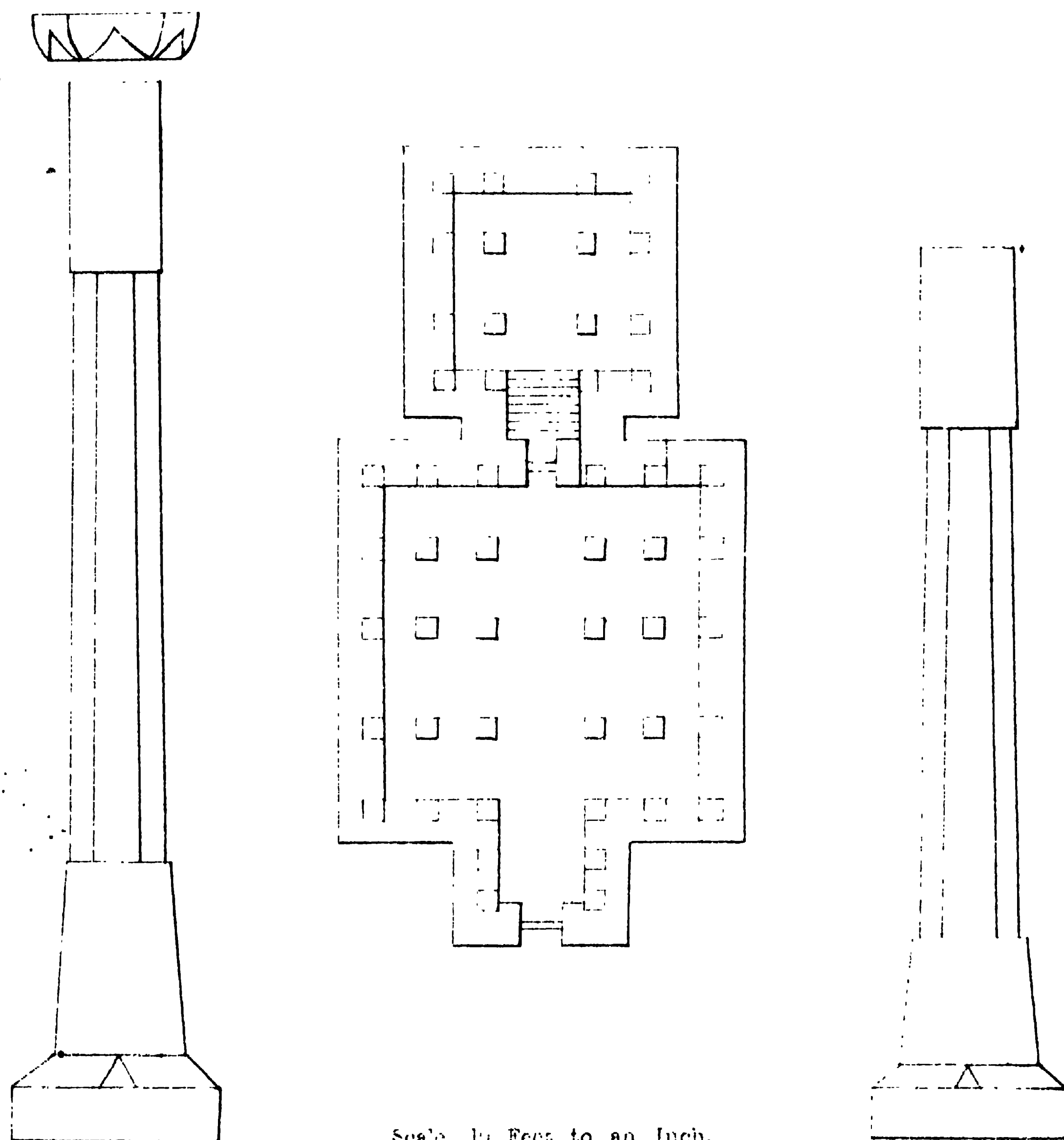




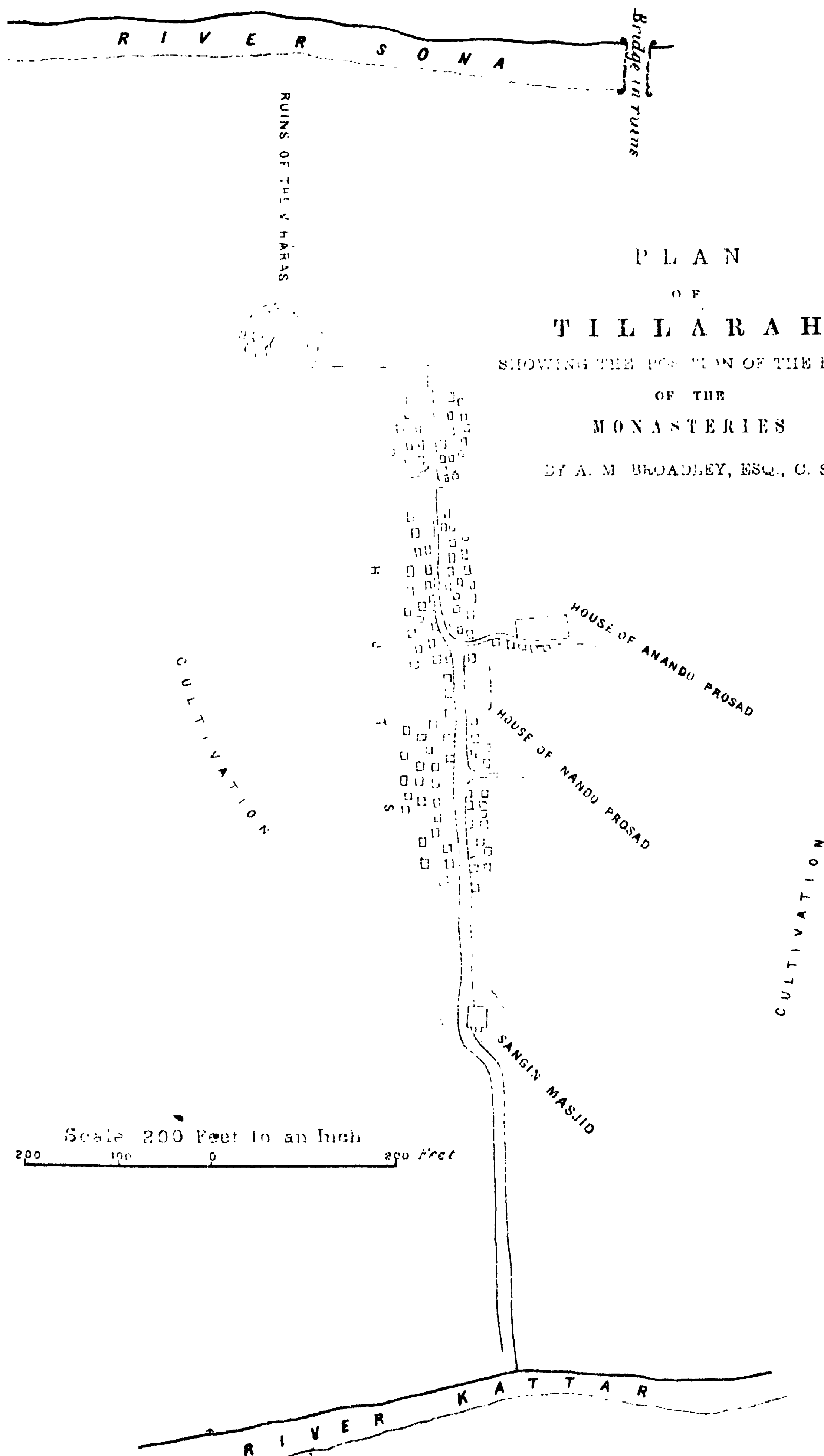


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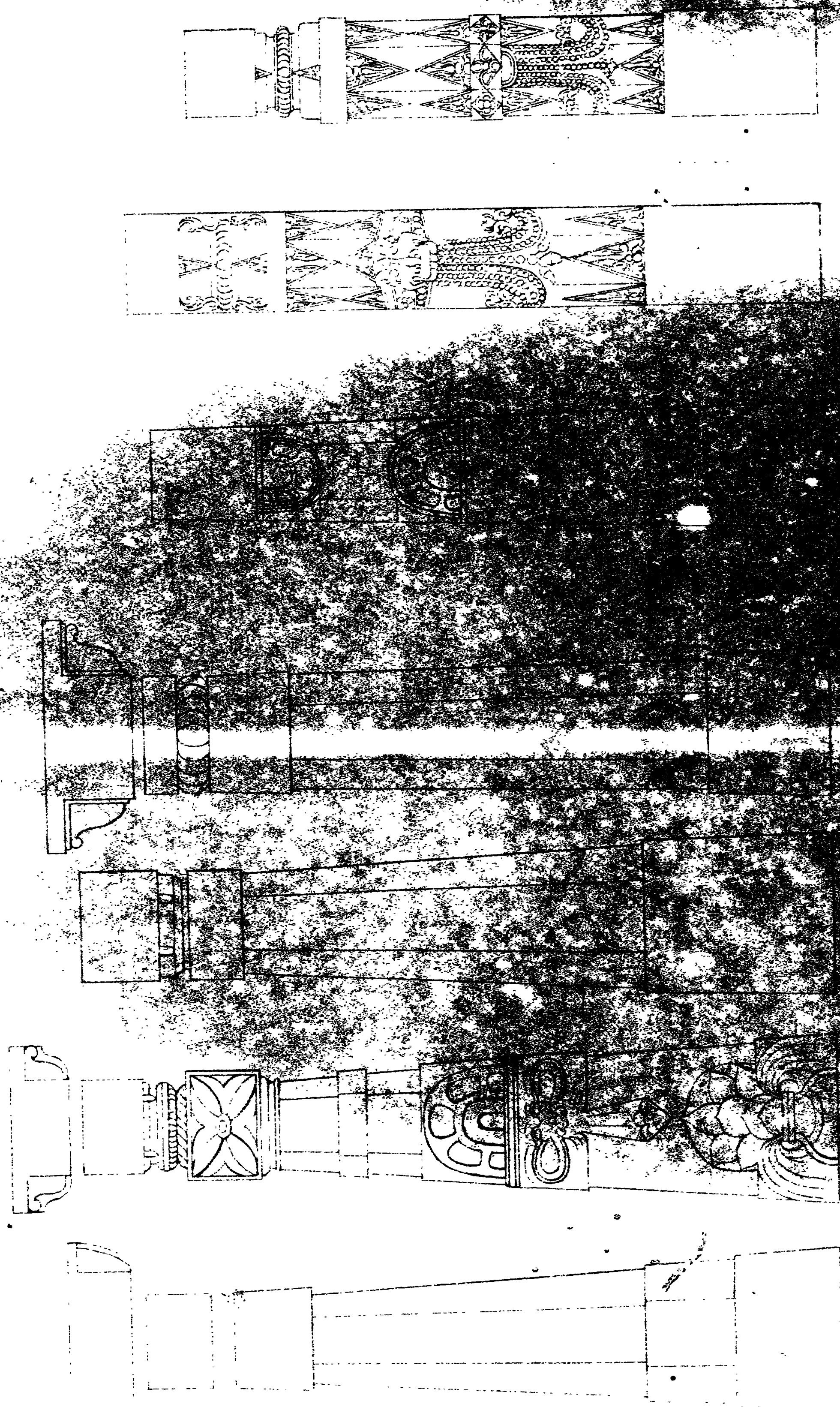
No. 1. PILLAR AND CAPITAL from the Vestibule of the great NÁLANDÁ TEMPLE.
No. 2. STUPA [illegible] TITRAWAN.



BUDDHIST TEMPLE ON THE BAIBHAR HILL RAJGIR

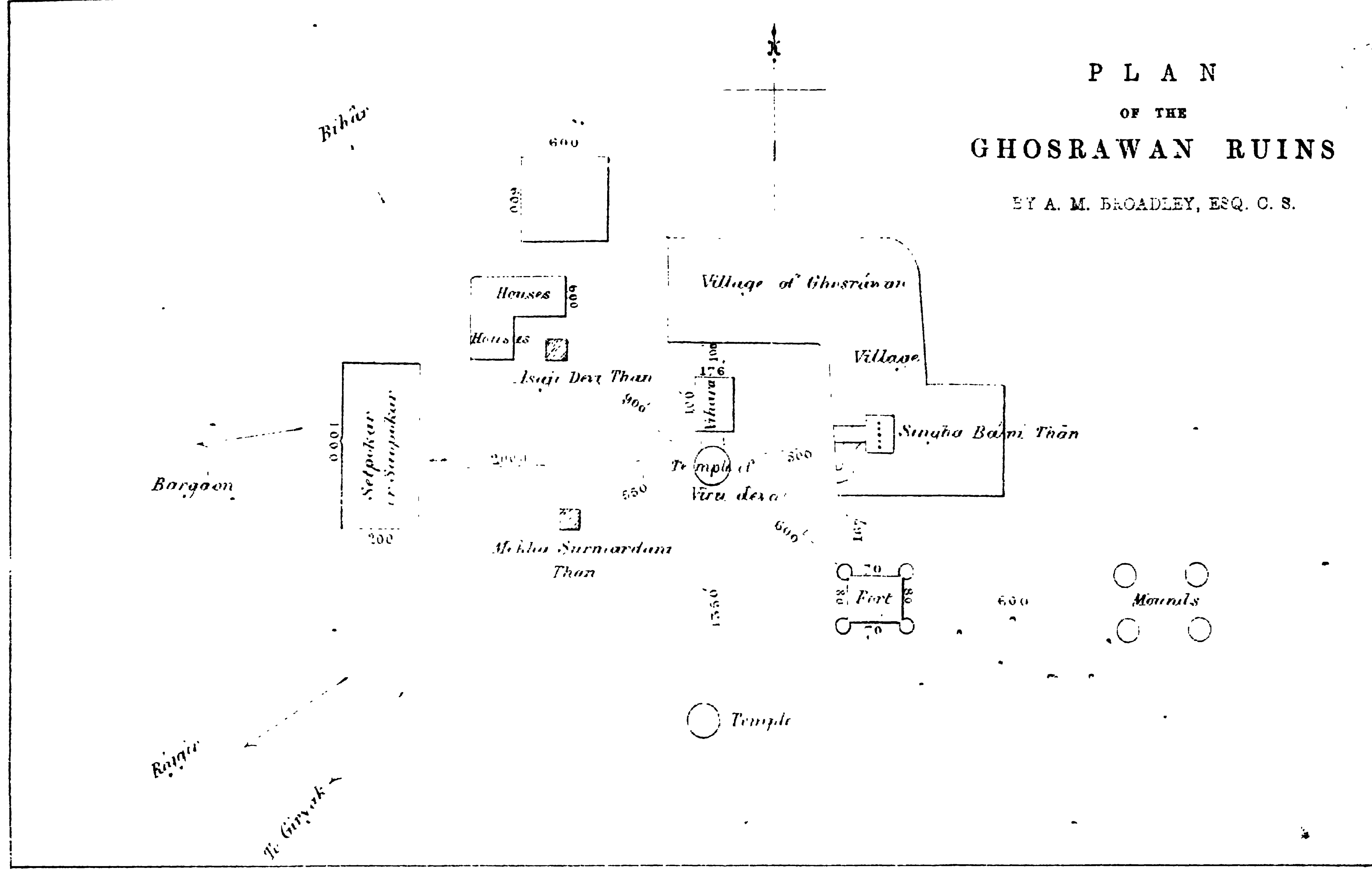


Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office. Calcutta. Dec. 1872.



Photozincographed at the Surveyor General's Office, Calcutta

THE GHOSRAWAN INSCRIPTION.



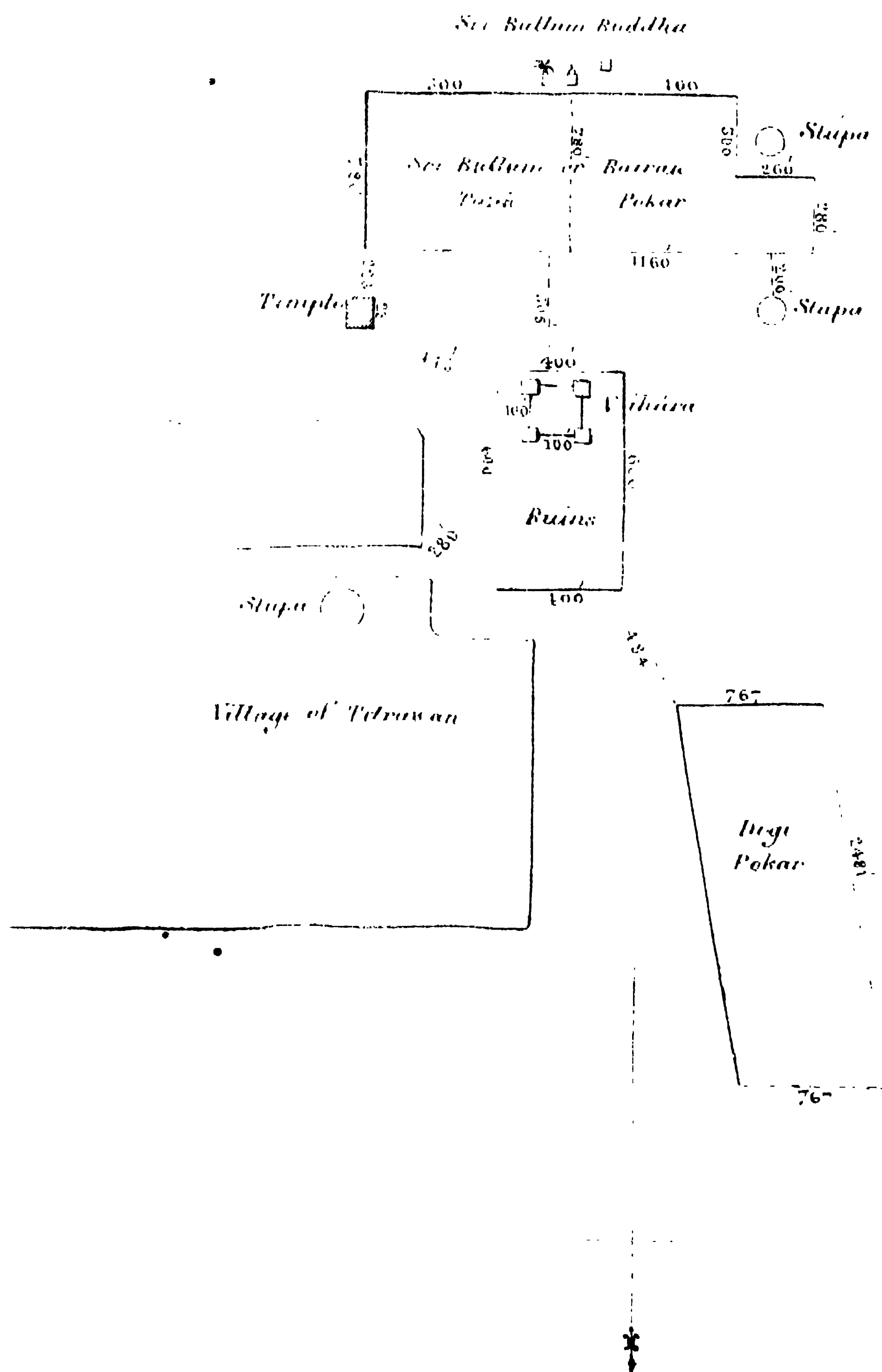
Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, Dec. 1872.

ROUGH PLAN

OF THE RUINS OF

TITRÁWAN MONASTERY.

BY A. M. BROADLEY, ESQ. C. S.



Litho. at the Survr. Genl's. Office, Calcutta, Dec. 1872.

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Part I.—HISTORY, LITERATURE, &c.

No. IV.—1872.

The Tírthas of Vrindá-vana and Gokula.—*By* F. S. Growse, M. A., B. C. S.

I.—Vrinda'-vana.

Some six miles above M[illegible]urá is a point where the right bank of the Jamuná assumes the appear[illegible]e of a peninsula, owing to the eccentricity of the stream, which first make[illegible] abrupt turn to the north and then as sudden a return upon its accu[illegible]ed southern course. Here, washed on three of its sides by the sacred [illegible]tands the town of Brindá-ban, at the present day a rich and increasing [illegible]cipality and for many centuries past one of the most holy places of th[illegible]dús. A little higher up the stream, a similar promontory occurs, and [illegible]h cases the curious formation is traditionally ascribed to the resentm[illegible] Baladeva. He, it is said, forgetful one day of his habitual reserve, a[illegible] emulous of his younger brother's popular graces, led out the Gopis for a [illegible]e upon the sands. But he performed his part so badly, that the J[illegible] could not forbear from taunting him with his failure, and recommen[illegible]m never again to exhibit so clumsy an imitation of Krishna's [illegible]ovements. The stalwart god was much vexed at this criticism and, t[illegible]p the heavy plough which he had but that moment laid aside, h[illegible] with it so deep a furrow from the shore that the unfortunate river [illegible]e fell into it, was drawn helplessly away and has never since been a[illegible] recover its original channel.

Such is the lo[illegible]ndering of the legend; but in the Puránas and other early Sanskrit au[illegible]es, the story is differently told, in this wise; that as Balaráma was ro[illegible]hrough the woods of Brindá-ban, he found concealed in the cleft of a k[illegible] tree some spirituous liquor, which he at once consumed with his [illegible]vidity. Heated by intoxication he longed [illegible]

things for a bath in the river, and seeing the Jamuná at some little distance, he shouted for it to come near. The stream, however, remained deaf to his summons; whereupon the infuriated god took up his ploughshare and breaking down the bank drew the water into a new channel, and forced it to follow wherever he led. In the Bhágavata it is added that the Jamuná is still to be seen following the course along which she was thus dragged. Professor Wilson in his edition of the Vishnu Purána says, "The legend probably alludes to the construction of canals from the Jamuná for the purpose of irrigation; and the works of the Muhammadans in this way, which are well known, were no doubt preceded by similar canals dug by order of Hindú princes." Upon this suggestion, it may be remarked first that in Upper India no irrigation works of any extent are known ever to have been executed either by Hindús or Muhammadans; certainly, there are no traces of any such operations in the neighbourhood of Brindá-ban; and secondly, both legends represent the Jamuná itself as diverted from its straight course into a single winding channel, not as divided into a multiplicity of streams. Hence it may more reasonably be inferred that the still existing involution of the river is the sole foundation for the myth.

Like most of the local names in the vicinity, the word Brindá-ban is derived from an obvious physical feature and, when first attached to the spot, signified no more than the "tulsi grove," *brindá* and *tulsí* being synonymous terms, used indifferently to denote the sacred aromatic herb, known to botanists as *Ocymum sanctum.*

But this explanation is far too simple to find favour with the more modern and extravagant school of Vaishnava sectaries; and in the Brahma Vaivanta Purána, a mythical personage has been invented bearing the name of Vrindá. According to that spurious compilation (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 2) the deified Rádhá, though inhabiting the Paradise of Goloka, was not exempt from human passions, and in a fit of jealousy condemned a Gopa by name Srídáma to descend upon earth in the form of the demon Sankháchura. He in retaliation sentenced her to become a nymph of Brindá-ban; and there accordingly she was born, being as was supposed the daughter of Kedára, but in reality the divine mistress of Krishna; and it was simply his love for her which induced the god to leave his solitary glory in heaven and become incarnate. Hence in the following exhaustive list of Rádhá's titles as given by the same authority (Brah. Vai., v. iv. 17) there are several which refer to her predilection for Brindá-ban :

Radhá, Rasesvari, Rásavásini, Rásikesvari,
Krishna-pránádhiká, Krishna-priya, Krishna-svarúpini,
Krishná, Vrindávani, Vrindá, Vrindávana-vinodini,
Chandávati, Chandra-kántá, Sata-chandra-nibhánana,
Krishna-vámánga-sambhútá, Paramánanda-rúpini,

There is no reason to suppose that Brindá-ban was ever the seat of any large Buddhist establishment; and though from the very earliest period of Brahmanical history it has enjoyed high repute as a sacred place of pilgrimage, it is probable that for many centuries it was merely a wild uninhabited jungle, a description still applicable to Bhándir-ban on the opposite side of the river, a spot of equal celebrity in Sanskrit literature. It was only about the middle of the sixteenth century after Christ that some holy men from other parts of India came and settled there and built a small shrine, which they dedicated to Brindá Deví. It is to their high reputation for sanctity that the town is primarily indebted for all that it now possesses. Its most ancient temples, four in number, take us back only to the reign of our own Queen Elizabeth; the stately courts that adorn the river bank and attest the wealth and magnificence of the Bharatpur Rájás, date only from the middle of last century; while the space now occupied by a series of the largest and most magnificent shrines ever erected in Upper India was fifty years ago an unclaimed belt of jungle and pasture-ground for cattle. Now that communication has been established with the remotest parts of India, every year sees some splendid addition made to the artistic treasures of the town; as wealthy devotees recognize in the stability of British rule an assurance that their pious donations will be completed in peace and remain undisturbed in perpetuity.

At the present time there are within the limits of the municipality about a thousand temples, including of course many which strictly speaking are merely private chapels; and fifty ghats constructed by as many Rájás. The peacocks and monkeys, with which the place abounds, enjoy the benefit of special endowments, bequeathed by deceased Princes of Kotá and Bharatpur. There are some fifty chhattras, or dole houses, for the distribution of alms, and extraordinary donations are not unfrequently made by royal and distinguished visitors. Thus the Rájá of Dátiá, a few years ago, made an offering to every single shrine and every single Bráhman that was found in the city. The latter order constitute a fourth of the whole population, which amounts to 21,000; while the Bairágis and Vaishnavas also muster strong, being in all not less than 5000 or 6000. The Vaishnavas are of five schools or Sampradáyas, called respectively Srí Vaishnava, Vishnu Swámi (this is the predominant class at Gokul), Nimárak Vaishnava, and Mádhava Vaishnava. In the time of the Emperors, the Muhammadans made a futile attempt to abolish the ancient name, Brindá-ban, and in its stead substitute that of Múminábád; but now more wisely they leave the place to its own Hindú name and devices, and keep themselves as clear of it as possible. Thus, besides an occasional official, there are in Brindá-ban no followers of the prophet beyond only some fifty families who live close together in its outskirts, and are all of the humblest order, such as oilmen, lime-burners, and the like.

But, as said above, the foundation of all this material prosperity and religious exclusiveness was laid by the Gosáins who established themselves there in the reign of Akbar. The leaders of the community were by name Rúpa and Sanátana from Gaur in Bengal. They were accompanied by six others, of whom three, Jíva, Madhu and Gopál Bhat, came from the same neighbourhood, Swámi Hari Dás from Rájpúr in the Mathurá District, Hari bans from Deva-ban in Sahâranpur, and Byás Hari Rám from Orchá in Bundelkhand. It is said that, in 1570, the emperor was induced to pay them a visit, and was taken blindfold into the sacred enclosure of the Nidh-ban,* where such a marvellous vision was revealed to him, that he was fain to acknowledge the place as indeed holy ground. Hence the cordial support which he gave to the attendant Rájás, when they declared their intention of erecting a series of buildings more worthy of the local divinity.

The four temples, commenced in honour of this event, still remain, though in a ruinous and sadly neglected condition. They bear the titles of Gobind Deva, Gopí-náth, Jugal-kishor, and Madan Mohan. The first named is not only the finest of this particular series, but is the most impressive religious edifice that Hindú art has ever produced, at least in Upper India. The body of the building is in the form of a Greek cross, the nave being a hundred feet in length and the breadth across the transepts the same. The central compartment is surmounted by a dome of singularly graceful proportions; and the four arms of the cross are roofed by a waggon vault of pointed form, not—as is usual in Hindú architecture—composed of overlapping brackets, but constructed of true radiating arches as in our Gothic cathedrals. The walls have an average thickness of ten feet, and are pierced in two stages, the upper stage being a regular triforium, to which access is obtained by an internal staircase. At the east entrance of the nave, a small narthex projects, fifteen feet; and at the west end, between two niches and incased in a rich canopy of sculpture, a square-headed doorway leads into the choir, a chamber some twenty feet deep. Beyond this was the sacrarium, flanked on either side by a lateral chapel; each of these three cells being of the same dimensions as the choir and like it vaulted by a lofty dome. The general effect of the interior is not unlike that produced by St. Paul's cathedral in London. The latter building has greatly the advantage in size, but in the other, the central dome is more elegant, while the richer decoration of the wall surface and the natural glow of the red sandstone supply that relief and warmth of colouring which are so lamentably deficient in its Western rival.

* The derivation of this word is a little questionable. It is the local name of the actual Brindá grove, to which the town owes its origin. The spot so designated is now of very limited area, hemmed in on all sides by streets, but protected from further encroachment by a high masonry wall.

There must originally have been seven towers, one over the central dome, one at the end of each transept, and the other four covering respectively the choir, sacrarium and two chapels. The sacrarium has been utterly razed to the ground, and the other six towers levelled with the roof of the nave. Their loss has terribly marred the effect of the exterior, which must have been extremely majestic when the west front with its lofty triplet was supported on either side by the pyramidal mass of the transepts and backed by the still more towering height that crowned the central dome. The choir tower was of slighter elevation; occupying the same relative position as the spirelet over the sanctus bell in Western ecclesiology. The ponderous walls, albeit none too massive to resist the enormous thrust once brought to bear upon them, now, however much relieved by exuberant decoration, appear out of all proportion to the comparatively low superstructure. As a further disfigurement, a plain masonry wall has been run along the top of the centre dome. It is generally believed that this was built by Aurangzíb for the purpose of desecrating the temple; though it is also said to have been put by the Hindús themselves to assist in some grand illumination. In either case it is an ugly modern excrescence, and steps should be at once taken for its removal.

Under one of the niches at the west end of the nave is a tablet with a long Sanskrit inscription. This has unfortunately been much mutilated, but enough remains as record of the fact that the temple was built in *Sambat* 1647, *i. e.*, A. D. 1590, under the direction of the two Gurus Rúpa and Sanátana. The founder, Rájá Mán Siñha, was a Kachhwáhá Thákur, son of Rájá Bhagawán Dás of Amber, founder of the temple at Gobardhan, and an ancestor of the present Rájá of Jaypur. He was appointed by Akbar successively Governor of the districts along the Indus, of Kábul, and of Bihár. By his exertions, the whole of Orísá and Eastern Bengal were reannexed; and so highly were his merits appreciated at court, that though a Hindú, he was raised to a higher rank than any other officer in the realm. He married a sister of Lakshmi Náráyan, Rájá of Koch Bihár, and at the time of his decease, which was in the 9th year of the reign of Jahángír, he had living one son, Bháo Siñha, who succeeded him upon the throne of Amber, and died in 1621, A. D.* There is a tradition to the effect that Akbar at the last, jealous of his powerful vassal, and desirous to rid himself of him, had a confection prepared, part of which contained poison; but caught in his own snare he presented the innoxious portion to the Rájá and ate that drugged with death himself. The unworthy deed is explained by Mán Siñha's design, which apparently had reached the Emperor's ears, to alter the succession in favour of Khusrau, his nephew, instead of Salím.†

* *Vide* Professor Blochmann's *Aín i Akbarí*, p. 341.

† The above tradition is quoted from Tod's Rájasthán.

In anticipation of a visit from Aurangzíb, the image of the god was transferred to Jaypur, and the Gosáin of the temple there has ever since been regarded as the head of the endowment. The name of the present incumbent is Syám Sundar, who has two agents resident at Brindá-ban. There is said to be still in existence at Jaypur the original plan of the temple, shewing its seven towers, but there is a difficulty in obtaining any definite information on the subject. However, local tradition is fully agreed as to their number and position; while their architectural character can be determined beyond a doubt by comparison with the smaller temples of the same age and style, the ruins of which still remain. It is therefore not a little strange that of all the architects who have described this famous building, not one has noticed this, its most characteristic feature: the harmonious combination of dome and spire is still quoted as the great crux of modern art, though nearly 300 years ago the difficulty was solved by the Hindús with characteristic grace and ingenuity.

It is much to be regretted that this most interesting monument has not been declared national property and taken under the immediate protection of Government. At present no care whatever is shewn for its preservation: large trees are allowed to root themselves in the fissures of the walls, and in the course of a few more years the damage done will be irreparable. As a modern temple under the old dedication has been erected in the precincts, no religious prejudices would be offended by the state's appropriation of the ancient building. If any scruples were raised, the objectors might have the option of themselves undertaking the necessary repairs. But it is not probable that they would accept the latter alternative; for though the original endowment was very large, it has been considerably reduced by mismanagement, and the ordinary annual income is now estimated at no more than Rs. 17,500,* the whole of which is absorbed in the maintenance of the modern establishment.

The next temple to be described, *viz.* that of Madan Mohan, one of Krishna's innumerable titles, stands at the upper end of the town on the river-bank near the Káli-mardan Ghát, where the god trampled on the head of the great serpent Káli. It consists of a nave 57 feet long, with a choir of 20 feet square at the west end, and a sanctuary of the same dimensions beyond. The total height of the nave would seem to have been only about 22 feet, but its vaulted roof has entirely disappeared: the upper part of the choir tower has also been destroyed. That surmounting the sacrarium is a lofty octagon of curvilinear outline tapering towards the summit; and attached to its south side is a tower-crowned chapel of precisely similar elevation, and differing only in the one respect that its exterior surface is enriched with

* Of this sum only Rs. 4,500 are derived from land and house property; the balance of Rs. 13,000 is made up by votive offerings.

sculptured panels, while the other is quite plain. Over its single door, which is at the east end, is a Sanskrit inscription, given first in Bengali and then in Nágari characters, which runs as follows:

हर इव गुहवंशो यत्पिता रामचन्द्रो
गुणिमणिरिव पुत्रो यस्य राधावसन्तः ।
सकलसुकृतराशिः श्रीगुणानन्दनामा
व्यधितविधिवदेतन्मन्दिरं नन्दसूनोः ॥

The above, it is believed, has never been copied before. As the letters were raised, instead of incised, and also much worn, a transcript was a matter of some little difficulty; and the Brahman in charge of the shrine declared the inscription to be absolutely illegible, or at least if the letters could be decyphered, quite unintelligible. The information it gives is certainly not very perspicuous, and there is no indication of a date; but we are enabled to gather thus much that the chapel at all events was founded by a Guhavansa,* bearing the name of Gunánand. The main building, which may possibly be a little older, is popularly ascribed to one Rám Dás, a Kshatriya of Multán. The court-yard is entered, after the ascent of a flight of steps, through a massive square gateway with a pyramidal tower, which groups very effectively with the two towers of the temple. As the buildings are not only in ruins, but also from peculiarities of style ill-adapted to modern requirements, they are seldom if ever used for religious service, which is ordinarily performed in an elegant and substantial edifice erected on the other side of the street under the shadow of the older fane. The annual income is estimated at Rs. 10,100; of which sum Rs. 8,000 are the voluntary offerings of the faithful, while only Rs. 2,100 are derived from permanent endowment. A branch establishment at Rádhá Kund with the same dedication is also supported from the funds of the parent house.

The temple of Gopináth, which may be slightly the earliest of the series, is said to have been built by Ráesil Jí, a progenitor of the Shaikháwat branch of the Kachhwáhá Thákurs. This great Rájpút family claim ultimate descent from Balojí, the third son of Rájá Uday Karan, who succeeded to the throne of Amber in 1389, A. D. To Baloji fell by inheritance the district of Amritsar, and after him to his son Mokal. This latter was long childless till through the blessing of the Muhammadan saint Shaikh Burhán, he became the father of a son called after his spiritual progenitor, Shaikh Jí. He is accounted the patriarch of all the Shaikháwat race, who for more than four centuries have continued to observe the obligations originally contracted with him. At the birth of every male infant, a goat is sacrificed, and while the kalimah is recited, the child is sprinkled with the blood. He is invested with the baddhiya, or cross-strings, usually worn by little Muhammadans;

* This word is a little questionable and may be read "Guruvansa."

and when he laid them aside, he was bound to suspend them at the saint's dargáh still existing six miles from Achrol. For two years he wears a blue tunic and cap, and for life abstains from hog's flesh and all meat in which the blood remains. Shaikh Jí, by conquest from his neighbours, consolidated under his own sway 360 villages, in complete independence of the parent state of Amber: and they so continued till the time of Sawai Jay Siñha, the founder of Jaypur. Shaikh Jí's heir Ráemal had three sons, Non-karan, Raesil and Gopal. By the advice of Devi Dás, a shrewd minister, who had been dismissed by Non-Karan, Ráesil proceeded to Dihlí with a following of 20 horse men, and so distinguished himself in the repulse of an Afghán invasion, that Akbar bestowed upon him the title of Darbarí with a grant of land and the important command of 1,250 horse. Khandelá and Udaypur, then called Kasumbi, which he conquered from the Narbháns, a branch of the Chauháns, after contracting a marriage with the daughter of the prince of that race, became the principal cities of the Shaikháwat confederation. He accompanied his liege lord, Rájá Mán Siñha of Amber against the Mewár Rána Pratáp, and further distinguished himself in the expedition to Kábul. The date of his death is not known.* The temple, of which he is the reputed founder, corresponds very closely both in style and dimensions with that of Madan Mohan already described; and has a similar chapel attached to the south side of the sacrarium. It is, however, in a far more ruinous condition: the nave has entirely disappeared; the three towers have been levelled with the roof; and the entrance gateway of the court-yard is tottering to its fall. The special feature of the building is a curious arcade of three bracket arches, serving apparently no constructural purpose, but merely added as an ornamental screen to the bare south wall. The choir-arch is also of handsome design, elaborately decorated with arabesque sculptures; but it is partly concealed from view by mean sheds which have been built up against it, while the interior is used as a stable and the north side is blocked by the modern temple. The votive offerings here made are estimated at Rs. 3,000 a year, in addition to which there is an endowment yielding an annual income of Rs. 1,200.

The temple of Jugal Kishor, the last of the old series, stands at the lower end of the town near the Kesi Ghát. Its construction is referred to the year *Sambat* 1684, *i. e.* 1627 A. D., in the reign of Jahángír, and the founder's name is preserved as Non-Karan. He is said to have been a Chauhán Thakur; but it is not improbable that he was the elder brother of Ráesil, who built the temple of Gopináth. The choir, which is slightly larger than in the other examples, being 25 feet square, has the principal entrance, as usual, at the east end; but is peculiar in having also both north

* The above particulars are extracted from Tod's Rájasthán and Professor Blochmann's Áín i Akbarí.

and south, a small doorway under a hood supported on eight closely-set brackets carved into the form of elephants. The nave has been completely destroyed. Three other temples, dedicated respectively to Rádhá Ballabh, Chír Bihári, and Rádhá Dámodar, put forward claims to considerable antiquity; but, as buildings, they possess no special architectural merit. The same may be said of the Bengali temple of Sringár Baṭ, near the Madan Mohan, which, however, enjoys an annual income of Rs. 13,500, divided among three shareholders, who each take the religious services for four months at a time. The village of Jahangírpur, on the opposite bank of the river, including the sacred grove of Bel-ban, forms part of the endowment.

Of the modern temples five claim special notice. The first in time of erection is the temple of Krishna Chandrama, built about the year 1810, at a cost of 25 lakhs, by the wealthy Bengali Káyath, Krishan Chandra Siñha, better known as the Lala Bábu. It stands in a large court yard, which is laid out, not very tastefully, as a garden, and enclosed by a lofty wall of solid masonry, with an arched gateway at either end. The building is of quadrangular form, 160 feet in length, with a front central compartment of three arches and a lateral colonnade of five bays reaching back on either side towards the cella. The workmanship throughout is of excellent character, and the stone has been carefully selected. The two towers, or *sikharas*, are singularly plain; but have been wisely so designed, that their smooth polished surface may remain unsullied by rain and dust.

The founder's ancestor, Bábu Murli Mohan Siñha, son of one Har Krishna Siñha, was a wealthy merchant and landed proprietor at Kándi in Murshidábád. His heir, Bihári Lál Siñha, had three sons, Rádhá Gobind, Gangá Gobind, and Rádhá Charan: of these the last-named, on inheriting his share of the paternal estate, broke off connection with the rest of the family and has dropped out of sight. Rádhá Gobind took service under Allah Virdí Khán and Siráj-ud-daulah, Nawábs of Murshidábád, and was by them promoted to posts of high honour. A rest-house for travellers and a temple of Rádha-ballabh which he founded, are still in existence. He died without issue, leaving his property to his brother, Gangá Gobind, who took a prominent part in the revision of the Bengal settlement under Lord Wm. Bentinck in 1828. He built a number of dharmsálás for the reception of pilgrims and four temples at Rámchandrapur in Nadiyá. These latter have all been washed away by the river, but the images of the gods were transferred to Kándi. He also maintained several Sanskrit schools in Nadiyá; and distinguished himself by the extraordinary pomp with which he celebrated his father's obsequies, spending moreover every year on the anniversary of his death a lákh of rupees in religious observances. Gangá Gobind's son, Prán Kishan Siñha, still further augmented his magnificent patrimony before it passed in succession to his son, Krishan Chandra Siñha, better known under the soubriquet of 'the

Lálá Bábú.' He held office first in Bardwán and then in Orísá, and when about thirty years of age, came to settle in the holy land of Braj. In connexion with his temple at Brindá-ban he founded also a rest-house, where a large number of pilgrims are still daily fed; the annual cost of the whole establishment being, as is stated, Rs. 22,000. He also enclosed the sacred tanks at Rádhá-kund with handsome gháts and terraces of stone at the cost of a lákh. When some forty years of age, he renounced the world, and in the character of a Bairágí continued for two years to wander about the woods and plains of Braj, begging his bread from day to day till the time of his death, which was accidentally caused by the kick of a horse at Gobardhan. He was frequently accompanied in his rambles by Mani Rám, father of the famous Seth Lakhmi Chand, who also had adopted the life of an ascetic. In the course of the ten years which the Lálá Bábú spent as a worldling in the Mathurá district, he contrived to buy up all the villages most noted as places of pilgrimage in a manner which strikingly illustrates his hereditary capacity for business. The zamíndárs were assured that he had no pecuniary object in view, but only the strict preservation of the hallowed spots. Again, as in the days of Krishna, they would become the secluded haunts of the monkey and the peacock, while the former proprietors would remain undisturbed, the happy guardians of so many new Arcadias. Thus the wise man from the East picked up one estate after another at a price in every case far below the real value, and in some cases for a purely nominal sum. However binding his fair promises may have been on the conscience of the pious Bábú, they were never recorded on paper, and therefore are naturally ignored by his absentee descendants and their agents, from whom any appeal *ad misericordiam* on the part of the impoverished representatives of the old owners of the soil meets with very scant consideration. The villages which he acquired in the Mathurá district are fourteen in number, viz., in the Kosi Parganah, Jáu; in Chhátá, Nandgánw, Barsána, Sanket, Karhela, and Háthiya; and in the home Parganah, Mathurá, Jait, Maholi and Nabí-pur, all these, except the last, being more or less places of pilgrimage. He also acquired by purchase from the Gújars the five villages of Pírpur, Gulálpur, Chamar-garhi and Dhímri. For Nand-gánw he gave Rs. 900; for Barsána, Rs. 600; for Sanket, Rs. 800; and for Karhela, Rs. 500; the *annual* revenue derived from these places being now as follows; from Nandgánw, Rs. 6,712; from Barsána, Rs. 3,109; from Sanket, Rs. 1,642; and from Karhela, Rs. 1,900. It may also be noted that payment was invariably made in Brindában rupees, which are worth only 13 or 14 annas each. The Bábú further purchased seventy-two villages in 'Alígarh and Balandshahr from Rájá Bír Siñha, Chauhán; but twelve of these were sold at auction in the time of his heir, Bábú Srí Náráyan Siñha. This latter, being a minor at his father's death, remained for a time under the tutelage of his mother, the [illegible]

táni, who again, on his decease when only thirty years old, managed the estate till the coming of age of the two sons whom his widows had been specially authorized to adopt. The elder of the two, Pratáp Chandra, founded an English school at Kándi and Dispensary at Calcutta. He was for some time a Member of the Legislative Council of Bengal, received from Government the title of Bahádur, and was enrolled as a Companion of the Star of India. He died in 1867; his brother Isvarchandra in 1863. The latter left, one son, Indrachand, who with his three cousins, Púran-chandra, Kári-chandra, and Sarad-chandra, the sons of Pratáp-chandra, are the present owners of the estate, which, during their minority is under the control of the Court of Wards, the General Manager being Mr. Robert Harvey of Calcutta.

The great temple, founded by Seth Gobind Dás and Rádhá Krishan, brothers of the famous millionaire Lakhmi Chand, is dedicated to Rang Jí, a Dakhani title of Vishnu. It is built in the Madras style, in accordance with plans supplied by their guru, the great Sanskrit scholar, Swámi Rangáchári, a native of that part of India, who still presides over the magnificent establishment. The works were commenced in 1845 and completed in 1851, at a cost of 45 lákhs of Rupees. The outer walls measure 773 feet in length by 440 in breadth, and enclose a fine tank and garden in addition to the actual temple-court. This latter has lofty gate-towers, or *gopuras*, covered with a profusion of coarse sculpture. In front of the god is erected a pillar, or *dhwajastha stambha*, of copper gilt, sixty feet in height and also sunk some twenty-four feet more below the surface of the ground. This alone cost Rs. 10,000. The principal or western entrance of the outer court is surmounted by a pavilion, ninety-three feet high, constructed in the Mathurá style after the design of a native artist. In its graceful outlines and the elegance of its reticulated tracery, it presents a striking contrast to the heavy and misshapen masses of the Madras Gopura, which rises immediately in front of it. A little to one side of the entrance is a detached shed, in which the god's *rath*, or carriage, is kept. It is an enormous wooden tower in several stages, with monstrous effigies at the corners, and is brought out only once a year in the month of Chait during the festival of the Brahmotsav. The melá lasts for ten days, on each of which the god is taken in state from the temple along the road a distance of 690 yards to a garden where a pavilion has been erected for his reception. The procession is always attended with torches, music, and incense, and some military display contributed by the Rájá of Bharatpur; and on the closing day, when only the rath is used, there is a grand show of fireworks, which people of all classes congregate from long distances to see. The image, composed of the eight metals, is seated in the centre of the car, with attendant Brahmans standing beside to fan it with chauries. Each of the Seths, with the rest of

the throng, gives an occasional hand to the ropes by which the ponderous machine is drawn; and by dint of much exertion, the distance is ordinarily accomplished in the space of about two and a half hours. On the other days of the melá the god has a wide choice of vehicles, being borne now on a pálki, a richly gilt tabernacle (*punya-koṭhi*), a throne (*sinhásan*), or a tree, either the kadamb, or the tree of Paradise (*kalpavriksha*), now on some demi-god, as the sun or the moon, Garúra, Hanumán, or Sesha; now again on some animal, as a horse, an elephant, a lion, a swan, or the fabulous eight-footed *Sarabha*. The ordinary cost of one of these celebrations is over Rs. 20,000, while the annual expenses of the whole establishment amount to no less than Rs. 57,000, the largest item in that total being Rs. 30,000 for the religious services or *bhog*. Every day 500 of the Sri Vaishnava sect are fed at the temple, and every morning up to 10 o'clock a dole of átá is given to any one who chooses to apply for it.

If the effect of the Seth's lavish endowment is impaired by the ill-judged adoption of a foreign style of architecture; still more is this error apparent in the temple of Rádhá Raman, completed within the last few years. The founder is Sah Kundan Lál of Lucknow, who has built on a design suggested by the modern secular buildings of that city. The principal entrance to the court yard is, in a grandiose way, decidedly effective; and the temple itself is constructed of the most costly materials and fronted with a colonnade of spiral marble pillars, each shaft being of a single piece, which though rather too attenuated, is unquestionably elegant. The mechanical execution is also good, but all is rendered of no avail by the abominable taste of the design. The façade with its uncouth pediment, flanked by sprawling monsters, and its row of life-size female figures in meretricious but at the same time most ungraceful attitudes, resembles nothing so much as a disreputable London casino; a severe, though unintended, satire on the character of the divinity to whom it is consecrated. Ten lákhs of rupees are said to have been wasted on its construction.

In striking contrast to this tasteless edifice is the temple of Rádhá Indra Kishor, built by Ráni Indrajít Kunwar, widow of Het Rám, Bráhman, zamíndár of Tikári by Gayá. It has been six years in building, and was completed at the end of 1871. It is a square of seventy feet divided into three aisles of five bays each, with a fourth space of equal dimensions for the reception of the god. The *sikhara* is surmounted with a copper *kalas*, or finial, heavily gilt, which alone cost Rs. 5000. The piers are composed of four conjoined pillars, each shaft being a single piece of stone, brought from the Pahárpur quarry in Bharatpur territory. The building is raised on a high and enriched plinth, and the entire design is singularly light and graceful. Its cost has been three lákhs.

The temple of Rádhá Gopál, built by the Mahárájá of Gwáliár, under

the direction of his guru Brahmachári Giri-dhári Das is also entitled to some special notice. The interior is an exact counterpart of an Italian church, and would be an excellent model for our architects to follow, since it secures to perfection both free ventilation and a softened light. It consists of a nave 58 feet long, with four aisles, two on either side, a sacrarium 21 feet in depth and a narthex of the same dimensions at the entrance. The outer aisles of the nave, instead of being closed in with solid walls, have open arches stopped only with wooden bars; and the tier of windows above gives on to a balcony and verandah. Thus any glare of light is impossible. The building was opened for religious service in 1860, and as it stands has cost four lákhs of rupees. The exterior has a mean and unsightly appearance, which might be obviated by the substitution of reticulated stone tracery for the wooden bars of the outer arches below and a more substantial balcony and verandah in lieu of the present rickety erection above.

There are in Brindá-ban no secular buildings of any great antiquity. The oldest is the court, or Ghera, as it is called, of Sawái Jay Siñha, the founder of Jaypur, who made Brindá-ban an occasional residence during the time that he was Governor of the Province of Agrah (1721-1728). It is a large walled enclosure with a pavilion at one end consisting of two aisles divided into five bays by piers of coupled columns of red sandstone. The river front of the town has a succession of gháṭs reaching for a distance of about a mile and half; the one highest up the stream being the Káli-mardan Gháṭ with the kadamb tree from which Krishna plunged into the water to encounter the great serpent Káliya; and at the other end Kesi Gháṭ, where he slew the equine demon of that name. Near the latter are two handsome mansions built by the Ránis Kishori and Lachhmi, consorts of Ranjit Siñha and Randhír Siñha, two successive Rájás of Bharatpur. In both, the arrangement is identical with that of a mediæval college, carried out on a miniature scale but with extreme elaboration of detail. The buildings are disposed in the form of a quadrangle, with an enriched gateway in the centre of one front and opposite it the chapel, of more imposing elevation than the ordinary domestic apartments which constitute the two flanks of the square. In Ráni Lachhmi's *kunj*, (such being the distinctive name for a building of this character) the temple front is a very rich and graceful composition, with a colonnade of five arches standing on a high plinth, which like every part of the wall surface is covered with the most delicate carving, and shaded above by overhanging eaves supported on bold brackets. The work of the elder Ráni is of much plainer character; and a third *kunj*, which stands a little lower down the river, close to the temple of Dhír Samír, built by Thákur Badan Siñha, the father of Súraj Mal, the first of the Bharatpur Rájás, though large, has no architectural pretensions whatever. The most striking

of the whole series is, however, the Gangá Mohan Kunj, built in the next generation by Gangá, Súraj Mal's Ráni. The river front, which is all that was ever completed, has a high and massive basement story, which, on the land side as seen from the interior of the court, becomes a mere plinth for the support of a majestic double cloister with broad and lofty arch and massive clustered pier. The style is precisely the same as that which prevails in the Garden Palace at Díg, a work of the same chief; who, however rude and uncultured himself, appears to have been able to appreciate and command the services of the highest available talent whether in the arts of war or peace.

2. Gokula.

The town of Mahá-ban is some five or six miles from Mathurá, lower down the stream and on the opposite bank of the Jamuná. It stands a little in land, about a mile distant from Gokul, which latter place has appropriated the more famous name, though it is in reality only the modern water side suburb of the ancient town. All the traditional sites of Krishna's adventures, described in the Puránas as being at Gokul, are shewn at Mahá-ban, which in short is the place intended whenever Gokul is mentioned in Sanskrit literature. However, in consequence of its retaining the more famous name, Gokul is popularly credited with a far greater amount of sanctity. From the opposite side of the river it has a very picturesque appearance; but on nearer approach its tortuous streets are found to be inconceivably mean, crowded, and unsavoury, in the rains mere channels for the floods, which pour down through them to the Jamuná, and at all other times of the year so rough and broken by the action of the water, that the rudest wheeled vehicle can with difficulty make its way along them. Strenuous efforts have been made within the last few years to improve its sanitation, but the Gosáin Mu'áfidárs, the descendants (through his only son Biṭṭhal-náth) of the famous Vallabhácháraj, who settled there in *Sambat* 1535, are most impracticable and intolerant of reform. The filthy condition of the place is largely owing to the enormous number of cattle driven within its walls every night, which render it really what the name denotes 'a cow-stall,' rather than a human habitation. The temples amount to a prodigious number, but they are all mean in appearance and recent in date; and the only noteworthy ornament of the town is a large masonry tank constructed some thirty years ago by a Seth, named Chunna.

The trees on its margin are always white with flocks of large water-fowl, of a quite distinct species from any to be found elsewhere in the neighbourhood. They are a new colony, being all descended from a few pairs which casually settled there no more than 10 or 12 years ago. Their plumage is peculiar and ornamental, but difficult to obtain, as the birds are considered

to enjoy the benefit of sanctuary; and on one occasion when a party of soldiers from the Mathurá cantonments attempted to shoot some of them, the towns people rose *en masse* for their protection.

Mahá-ban, the true Gokul, is by legend closely connected with Mathurá; for Krishna was born at the one and cradled at the other. Both, too, make their first appearance in history together and under most unfortunate circumstances as sacked by Mahmúd of Ghazní in the year 1017, A.D. From the effects of this catastrophe, it would seem that Mahá-ban was never able to recover itself. It is casually mentioned in connection with the year 1234 A. D., by Minháj i Siráj, a contemporary writer, as one of the gathering-places for the imperial army sent by Shams ud-dín against Kálinjar; and the Emperor Bábar, in his Memoirs, incidentally refers to it, as if it were a place of some importance still, in the year 1526, A. D.; but the name occurs in the pages of no other chronicle; and at the present day, though it is the seat of a Tahsíli, it can scarcely be called more than a considerable village. Within the last few years one or two large and handsome private residences have been built with fronts of carved stone in the Mathurá style; but the temples are all exceedingly mean and of no antiquity. The largest and also the most sacred is that dedicated to Mathurá-náth, which boasts of a pyramidal tower, or *sikhara*, of some height and bulk, but constructed only of brick and plaster. The Bráhman in charge used to enjoy an endowment of Rs. 2 a day, the gift of Sindhia, but this has long lapsed. There are two other small shrines of some interest: in the one the demon Trinávart is represented as a pair of enormous wings overhanging the infant god; the other bears the dedication of Mahá Mall Ráe, the great champion Prince, a title given to Krishna after his discomfiture of the various evil spirits sent against him by Kansa.

Great part of the town is occupied by a high hill, partly natural and partly artificial, extending over more than 100 bíghas of land, where stood the old fort. Upon its most elevated point is shewn a small cell, called Syám Lála, believed to mark the spot where Jasodá gave birth to Maya, or Joga-nidra, substituted by Vasudeva for the infant Krishna. But by far the most interesting building is a covered court called Nandas Palace, or more commonly the Assi Khamba, *i. e.* the Eighty Pillars. It is divided by five rows of sixteen pillars each into four aisles, or rather into a centre and two narrower side aisles with one broad outer cloister. The external pillars of this outer cloister are each of one massive shaft, cut into many narrow facets, with two horizontal bands of carving: the capitals are decorated either with grotesque heads or the usual four squat figures. The pillars of the inner aisles vary much in design, some being exceedingly plain and others as richly ornamented with profuse and often graceful arabesques. Three of the more elaborate are called respectively the Satya,

Dwápar, and Treta Yug; while the name of the Kali Yug is given to another somewhat plainer. All these interior pillars, however, agree in consisting as it were of two short columns set one upon the other. The style is precisely similar to that of the Hindú colonnades by the Quṭb Minár at Delhi; and both works may reasonably be referred to about the same age. As it is probable that the latter were not built in the years immediately preceding the fall of Delhi in 1194, so also it would seem that the court at Mahá-ban must have been completed before the assault of Mahmúd in 1017; for after that date the place was too insignificant to be selected as the site of so elaborate an edifice. Thus Fergusson's conjecture is confirmed that the Delhi pillars are to be ascribed to the ninth or tenth century. Another long-mooted point may also be considered as almost definitely set at rest, for it can scarcely be doubted that the pillars as they now stand at Mahá-ban occupy their original position. Fergusson, who was unaware of their existence, in his notice of the Delhi cloister, doubts whether it now stands as originally arranged by the Hindús, or whether it had been taken down and re-arranged by the conquerors; but concludes as most probable that the former was the case, and that it was an open colonnade surrounding the Palace of Prithi Ráj. "If so," he adds, "it is the only instance known of Hindú pillars being left undisturbed." General Cunningham comments upon these remarks, finding it utterly incredible that any architect, designing an original building and wishing to obtain height, should have recourse to such a rude expedient as constructing two distinct pillars, and then without any disguise piling up one on the top of the other. But, however extraordinary the procedure, it is clear that this is what was done at Mahá-ban, as is proved by the outer row of columns, which are each of one unbroken shaft, yet precisely the same in height as the double pillars of the inner aisles. The roof is flat and perfectly plain except in two compartments, where it is cut into a pretty quasi-dome of concentric multifoil circles. Mothers come here for their purification on the sixth day after child-birth—*chhaṭhi púja*—and it is visited by enormous crowds of people for several days about the anniversary of Krishna's birth in the month of Bhádon. A representation of the infant god's cradle is displayed to view, with his foster-mother's churn and other domestic articles. The place being regarded not exactly as a temple, but as Nanda and Jasoda's actual dwelling-house, Europeans are allowed to walk about in it with perfect freedom. Considering the size, the antiquity, the artistic excellence, the exceptional archæological interest, the celebrity amongst natives, and the close proximity to Mathurá of this building, it is perfectly marvellous that it found no mention whatever in the archæological abstract prepared in every district by orders of Government a few years ago, nor even in the costly work compiled by Lieut. Cole, the Superintendent of the Archæological Survey, which professes to illustrate the architectural antiquities of Mathurá and its neighbourhood.

Let into the outer wall of the Nand Bhavan is a small figure of Buddha; and it is said that whenever foundations are sunk within the precincts of the fort, many fragments of sculpture—of Buddhist character, it may be presumed—have been brought to light: but hitherto they have always been buried again, or broken up as building materials. Doubtless, Mahá-ban was the site of some of those Buddhist monasteries, which the Chinese pilgrim Fa Hian distinctly states existed in his time on both sides of the river. And further, whatever may be the exact Indian word concealed under the form Klisoboras, or Clisobora, given by Arrian and Pliny as the name of the town between which and Mathurá the Jamuná flowed—*Amnis Jomanes in Gangem per Palibothros decurrit inter oppida Methora et Clisobora,* Pliny, Hist. Nat. vi, 22—it may be concluded with certainty that Mahá-ban is the site intended. Its other literary names are Brihad-vana, Brihad-aranya, Gokula, and Nanda-gráma; and no one of these, it is true, in the slightest resembles the word Clisobora, which would seem rather to be a corruption of some compound in which 'Krishna' was the first element, possibly some epithet or descriptive title taken by the foreign traveller for the ordinary proper name. General Cunningham in his 'Ancient Geography' identifies Clisobora (read in one MS., as Cyrisoborka) with Brindá-ban, assuming that Kalikavartta, or 'Kalika's Whirlpool,' was an earlier name of the town, in allusion to Krishna's combat with the serpent Kálika. But in the first place, the Jamuná does not flow *between* Mathurá and Brindá-ban, seeing that both are on the same bank; secondly, the ordinary name of the great serpent is not Kálika, but Kaliya; and thirdly, it does not appear upon what authority it is so boldly stated that "the earlier name of the place was Kálikávartta." Upon this latter point, a reference has been made to the great Brindá-ban Pandit, Swámi Rangáchári, who if any one might be expected to speak with positive knowledge, and his reply was that in the course of all his reading, he had never met with Brindá-ban under any other name than that which it now bears. In order to establish the identification of Clisobora with Mahá-ban, it was necessary to notice General Cunningham's counter theory and to condemn it as unsound; ordinarily the accuracy of his research and the soundness of his judgment are entitled to the highest respect.

The glories of Mahá-ban are told in a special (interpolated) section of the Brahmánda Purána, called the Brihad-vana Mahatmya. In this, its *tirthas*, or holy places, are reckoned to be twenty-one in number as follows:

Eka-vinsati-tírthena yuktam bhúrigunánvitam.
Yamal-árjuna punyatam, Nanda-kúpam tathaiva cha,
Chintá-harana Bráhmandam, kundant Sarasvatam tatha,
Sarasvati şilá tatra, Vishnu-kunda-samanvitam,
Karna-kúpam, Krishna-kundam, Gopa-kúpam tathaiva cha,

Ramanam-ramana-sthánam, Nárada-sthánam eva cha,
Pútaná-patana sthánam, Trinávarttákhya pátanam,
Nanda-harmyam, Nanda-geham, Ghátam Ramana-samjnakam,
Mathuránáthobhá-kshetram punyam pápa-pranásanam,
Janma-sthánam tu Sheshasya, jananam Yogamáyaya.

Some little distance outside the town, a small bridge carries the Mathurá road across a ravine called Pútaná khár, the Pútaná-patana-sthánam of the above lines. It is a mile or more in length, reaching down to the bank of the Jamuná, and as the name denotes, is supposed to have been caused by the passage of Pútaná's giant body. Similarly in Mathurá, when Kansa's corse was dragged down to the Visránt Ghát, it made a deep channel in the ground like a torrent in flood, as described in the Vishnu Purána:

Gauravenáti mahatá parikhá tena krishyatá
Kritá Kansasya dehena, vegeneva mahámbhasah.

This is still known as the Kans Khár. It has been arched over, and like the Fleet Ditch in London, forms now the main sewer of the city, discharging itself into the river at the very spot where Bráhmans most delight to bathe. The remainder of the twenty-one tírthas have either been already noticed in the course of this sketch, or commemorate such well-known incidents in Krishna's childhood that any further explanation is unnecessary.

On the high road to Sa'dábád, some six miles beyond Mahá-ban, is the modern tírtha of Baladeva Jí. The temple, from which the town derives its name, is of considerable celebrity and well-endowed, but neither handsome nor well kept. It includes within its precincts several cloistered quadrangles, where accommodation is provided for pilgrims and the resident priests. The actual temple stands at the back of one of the inner courts, and on each of its three disengaged sides has an arcade of three arches with broad flanking piers. On each of these three sides a door gives access to the cella, which is surmounted by a squat pyramidal tower. Beside the principal figure, Baladeva, who is generally very richly dressed and bedizened, it contains another life-sized statue supposed to represent his spouse, Revati. Apparently she was an after-thought, being put away in a corner off the dais. In an adjoining court is shewn the small vaulted chamber, which is said to have been the original shrine before the present more pretentious edifice was erected by a Delhi Seth, named Syám Dás, some time in the last century. Outside the temple is a brick tank about eighty yards square, called variously Kshír-Ságar, 'the sea of milk,' or Kshír-kund, or Balbhadra-kund. It is in rather a dilapidated condition, and the surface of the water is always covered with a repulsive thick green scum, which, however, does not deter the pilgrims either from bathing or drinking. In this tank it is said that about the year 1550 was accidentally discovered the image of Baladeva which has ever since been regarded as the local divinity. The original

village, called Riṛá, still exists as a hamlet of the modern town. It belonged to a family of Játs; but their estate was transferred by sale to the temple Páṇḍas, who also enjoy an endowment of four other villages rent free, a grant from Sindhia. They are all descendants of the Bairágí by whom the image was produced, and are by caste Ahiváśis, a singularly low and illiterate pseudo-Brahmanical tribe, who as it would seem are not known in any part of India beyond the Mathurá district. The name is said to be derived from the great serpent (*ahi*) káliya, and they represent the village of Sanrakh, near the Káli-mardan Ghát at Brindá-ban, as their first home.

Note.—The interesting temple of Hari-deva at Gobardhan was in perfect preservation, excepting only the loss of its two towers, till the end of the year 1871. The roof of the nave then began to give away, and now has entirely fallen in, all save one compartment, which happily remains as a guide to the architect, in case a restoration should be undertaken. Funds for the work are not altogether wanting, as there is now in the local treasury a deposit of more than Rs. 3000 available for the purpose. This sum arises from the rents of the mu'áfí village of Bhagosa, a permanent endowment, with regard to which, after long dispute, the Civil Court has decided that it must be expended strictly on the maintenance of the temple and its services, and cannot be appropriated by the shareholders to their own private uses. It could not be devoted to a better purpose than the repair of the fabric; and in case of want of unanimity among the shareholders a further order of the Court to that effect is all that is required.

On a new king of Bengal ('Aláuddín Fírúz Sháh), and notes on the Husainí kings of Bengal and their conquest of Chátgáon (Chittagong). —*By* H. Blochmann, M. A., *Calcutta Madrasah.*

Some time ago, Mr. Walter M. Bourke sent me two Arabic and Persian Inscriptions from Kalnah, on the Bhágirathí, one from a ruined mosque, and the other from the Dargáh of a saint of the name of Sháh Majlis. The latter inscription has not been deciphered, the stone being worn away; but the name of Husain Sháh was legible. The former, of which a yellowish impression had been taken, revealed the name of a new king. It was, however, too unclear to admit of more than a tentative reading, and I was fortunate to obtain, in June last, two clear black impressions. The stone of this valuable inscription, I am informed, lies on the ground in front of a ruined mosque, and is, like all inscriptions in this part of the country, of black basalt. The mosque, called the 'Sháhí Masjid,' lies outside Kalnah, about half a mile from the river, and is overgrown with jungle. Occasionally prayers are read in it, and the *Khádims* in charge hold a few bighahs of land. The Dargáh, mentioned above, is called Sháh Majlis Ástánah,' lies also near the river, and is said to be under the Mutawallíship of the Mahárájah

of Bardwán. It consists of a vault and a masjid, and is frequented by numerous pilgrims. The only information regarding Sháh Majlis (an Afghán name) is that he fought with the Hindús and died a martyr,—' a legend repeated in almost every A'stánah in Lower Bengal.

The inscription is—

بني هذا المسجد الجامع في زمن الملك العادل علاؤ الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر
فيروز شاه السلطان بن نصرة شاه السلطان خلد ملكه و سلطانه بنا كرده ملك المعظم
و المكرم الغ مسند خان ملك سرلشكر و وزير سلمه الله في الدارين مؤرخا في الغرة
من شهر المبارك رمضان سنه تسع و ثلاثين و تسعمائة ||

This Jámi' Mosque was built in the time of the just king 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Fírúz Sháh, the king, son of Nuçrat Sháh, the king—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! Erected by the great and generous Malik, Ulugh Masnad Khán Malik, commander and Vazír,—may God preserve him in both worlds! Dated, 1st day of the blessed month of Ramazán, 939, [27th March, 1533].

This important inscription proves the existence of a new king, and helps us to correct the histories as far as the death of Nuçrat Sháh is concerned. A few other valuable inscriptions of kings of the same dynasty having been received by the Asiatic Society, I have used the opportunity to put them together, and append a few notes on the chronology of the reigns of Husain Sháh and his descendants. As they are Sayyids, they may be conveniently called 'the Husainí Dynasty.'

Anticipating the results arrived at below, we have the following genealogical tree—

'Aláuddín Husain Sháh, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul-Husainí, 899 to 929, A H.

1. Dányál, invades A'sám in 904, and perishes.	2. Náçiruddín Nuçrat Sháh (or Naçíb Sháh), 929 to 939 (murdered)	3. Ghiásuddín Mahmúd Sháh, 940 to 944; *dies* in 945.
	'Aláuddín Fírúz Sháh, 939, (murdered by Mahmúd Sháh).	Two sons, killed by Jalál Khán.

Mr. E. Thomas (Useful Tables, p. 312) has—

A H.	A.D.	
897	1491	Fírúz Sháh Habshí.
899	1494	Mahmúd Sháh, son of Fírúz Sháh.
900	1495	Muzaffar Sháh Habshí.
903	1498	*'Aláuddín Husain Sháh*, son of Sayyid Ashraf.
927	1521	*Nuçrat Sháh*, son of Husain Sháh.
940	1534	*Mahmúd Sháh*, son of Husain Sháh.
944	1537	Sher Sháh.

In order to explain the discrepancies between the above tree and the years given in Prinsep and all other histories, I shall take the kings singly.

1. *'Aláuddín Husain Sháh.* I have fixed 899 A. H. as the first year of his reign, on the testimony of Marsden's coin (Marsden, p. 576), and I extend it to the beginning of 929. The year 903, given by Prinsep, has been obtained by adding the years assigned by the *Ṭabaqát i Akbarí* and *Firishtah* to Fírúz Shah Habshí's successors, of whom Mahmúd Sháh is said to have reigned 1 year, and Muzaffar Sháh 3 years 5 months.

Firishtah says, Husain Sháh died in 927, after a reign of 27 years,—so at least in the Lucknow edition, and in the Society's MS. of the *Riyáz-ussaláṭín*, from which Stewart compiled his 'History of Bengal.' The *Riyáz* adds that the length of Husain Sháh's reign is variously given at 24, 27, and 29 years 5 months. Of these three statements, Stewart and Prinsep have taken the first (24 years, from 903 to 927). Firishtah counts 27 years, *i. e.* from 900 to 927. The *Ṭabaqát* seems to take the last (29 years 5 months); for it says that Husain Sháh died in 929 A. H.* I do not know from which source the *Riyáz* has taken the "29 years 5 months."

Of several unpublished inscriptions of this king, I select the following, which General Cunningham found in Sunnárgáon—

قال الله تعالى انما يعمر مساجد الله من آمن بالله و اليوم الآخر و اقام الصلوة
و آتي الزكوة و لم يخش الا الله فعسي اولئك ان يكونوا من المهتدين - قال النبي
صلي الله عليه و سلم من بني مسجدا في الدنيا بني الله له سبعين قصرا في الجنة -
بني هذا المسجد في عهد السلطان (*sic*) الزمان وارث الملك سليمان علاؤ الدنيا
و الدين ابو المظفر حسين شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلى امره و شانه
و اظفر كل لحظة برهانه الخان الاعظم و المعظم اعني خواص خان سرلشكر زمين تبوره
و وزير اقليم معظماباد سلمه الله في الدارين مؤرخا في الثاني من ربيع الآخر سنه
تسع عشر و تسعمايه ॥

God Almighty says, 'Surely he will build the mosques of God who believes in God and the last day, and who establishes prayer and gives the legal alms, and fears no one except God. Such perhaps shall belong to those that are guided' [Qorán, lxi, 13]. The prophet—may God bless him!—has said, 'He who builds a mosque in this world, shall have seventy castles built for him by God in paradise.'

This mosque was built in the reign of the Sulṭán of the age, the heir of the kingdom of Solomon, 'A l á u d d u n y á w a d d í n A b u l M u z a f f a r H u s a i n S h á h—May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity, and render, in every minute, his proof victorious!—by the great and noble

* MS. 87 of the Asiatic Society's Library, p. 1164. There are two misprints on this very point in the quarto and octavo editions of Stewart's History of Bengal. In the Tables prefixed to the work, 905 is mentioned as the year of Husain Shah's accession; and in Sect. iv, (pp. 109 and 71, resp.), the margin gives A. D. 1489, for 1498.

Khán, namely Khawáç Khán, governor of the Land of Tipúrah and Vazír of the District Mu'azzamábád,—may God preserve him in both worlds! Dated, 2nd Rabí' II, 919. [7th June, 1513.]

The inscription contains the phrase *Iqlím Mu'azzamábád*, which Mr. Thomas discusses in his 'Chronicles of the Pathan Kings,' p. 153. The union of Tripurah (Tiparah) and Mu'azzamábád confirms my conjecture that Mu'azzamábád belongs to Sunnárgáon. The form تبوره is intended to be Arabic for تپوره.

The various statements regarding the beginning of Husain Sháh's reign are, no doubt, due to the fact that he was a usurper, and that his power, therefore, extended gradually. One source, indeed, makes him murder Muzaffar in his palace; but other sources speak of a great struggle, ending in a great battle under the walls of Gaur, when Husain Sháh was victorious.

Another proof for the correctness of the year 929 lies in the fact that the Ṭabaqát assigns to Nuçrat Sháh only eleven years as reigning king.

There is some confusion regarding the real name of Husain Sháh. The Ṭabaqát merely calls him 'Aláuddín, the julús-name, whilst Firishtah calls him Sayyid Sharíf i Makkí, *i. e.* Sharíf *from* Makkah; and Stewart gives "Sherief Mecca," evidently confirmed by a gratuitous remark of the author of the *Riyázussaláṭín*, who, as he says, *thinks* that Husain's father, or one of his ancestors, might perhaps have been a Sharíf of Mecca!* To make the confusion greater, the *Riyáz* adds that he had seen "in some pamphlet that Husain Sháh and his brother Yúsuf had come with their father Sayyid Ashraf Husainí from Tirmiz in Turkistán, and having accidentally come to Bengal they had settled in the Ráṛah District at Chándpúr, where they studied under the Qází of the place. When the Qází had convinced himself of the nobility of their descent, he gave his daughter to Husain in marriage, and introduced him at the court of Muzaffar Sháh, who made him Vazír." None of the numerous inscriptions and coins of Husain Sháh call him Sayyid Sharíf or "Makkí."

Prince Dányál. He is mentioned by Badáoní (I, 317) as having met Sulṭán Sikandar Lodí as ambassador from his father Husain Sháh, near the town of Bihár, in 901 A. H. This is another and independent testimony shewing that Husain's reign commenced before 903 A. H., and that he was, in fact, fully established in 901.

Dányál is also mentioned in the following inscription which I owe to the kindness of Maulawí 'Abdul Jabbár, Deputy Magistrate, Munger. The inscription is attached to the eastern wall of the Dargáh of Sháh Náfah,

* The Sharíf, or ruler, of Makkah, is called *Sharíf i Makkah*, not *Sharíf i Makkí*. The latter can only mean 'a man of the name of Sharíf, born in Makkah.'

which lies on an elevated spot, reached by a flight of steps, near the old wall of Munger. At the foot, there are many tombs in a dilapidated state. The *Khádims* of the Dargáh say that when the fort of Munger was built, or rebuilt, Prince Dányál dreamed that a grave near the new wall emitted a smell of musk. The grave was discover'd, and the Prince built a vault over it, for the inmate was evidently a saint. From this circumstance the saint is up to this day called 'Sháh Náfah,' from the Persian *náfah*, a 'pod of musk.'

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم * نصر من الله و فتح قريب و بشر المؤمنين * بناء هذا
الگنبذ في عهد سلطان العادل سيد السادات مجمع السعادات علاؤ الدنيا و الدين
ابو المظفر حسين شاه سلطان خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه * بانی خير دانيال شاهزاده
سلمه الله تعالى في الدارين * سنه ثلث و تسعمايه ||

In the name of God, the merciful and the clement! A victory from God, and a near favour, and announce the joyful tidings to the faithful [Qorán, lvi, 3]. The erection of this vault (took place) in the reign of the just king, the Sayyid of Sayyids, the receptacle of auspiciousness, 'Aláuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Husain Sháh,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule! The builder of this religious edifice is Prince Dányál—may God Almighty preserve him in both worlds! A. H. 903 [A. D. 1497-98].

When I exhibited this inscription at the meeting of the Society in July last, I alluded to the following passage from Prinsep's Antiquities (Thomas's edition, Useful Tables, p. 273) regarding the invasion of Ásám by Husain Sháh—

1498 Ásám invaded by Dulál Ghází, son of Husain Sháh
Musundár Ghází
Sultán Ghiásuddín.

As 'Dulál Ghází' is scarcely a Muhammadan name, the prince alluded to is evidently this Dányál. A short description of the invasion was given by me above, p. 79. The author of the *Riyáz* gives a few particulars, but without quoting his source. As Stewart has passed over the details, I translate the passage, as given in the MS. of the Riyáz in the Asiatic Society's Library. "After having reduced the Rájahs of the Districts as far as Orísá, Husain took tribute from them. After this, he resolved to invade the kingdom of Ásám, in the north-east of Bengal, and he set out with a large army of foot and a numerous fleet, and entered the kingdom and subdued it as far as *Kámrúp* and *Kámtah* and other districts, which were under powerful Rájahs as *Rúp Náráin*, *Mál (Pál?) Kunwar*, *Gosá Lak'han* (?) and *Lachhmí Náráin*, and others, and collected much wealth from the conquered land, so that the Afgháns, after destroying the palaces of those [Rájahs], erected palaces. The Rájah of the country, unable to withstand, withdrew to the mountains. Sultán Husain left his son with a strong army in Ásám to complete the settlement of the country, and returned victoriously to Bengal.

After the return of the Sulṭán, the Prince pacified and guarded the conquered country; but when the rains set in, and the roads were closed, the Rájah issued with his men from the hills, surrounded the Prince, and cut off his supplies. In a short time, they were all killed."

It is not said who 'Musundár Ghází' and 'Sulṭán Ghiásuddín' are, whom Prinsep mentions as having gained a footing in Ásám.

2. *Náçiruddín Nuçrat Sháh.* Historians also call him *Naçíb Sháh*, but this name does not occur on inscriptions. I do not know whether the Naçíbpúr in Ṭánḍah is connected with his name. His other name, Nuçrat, occurs often enough in Bengal geography, as also those of his brother Mahmúd and his father Husain Sháh. We have—

1. Husainsháhí, in Maimansingh,
   Nuçratsháhí, in Pabnah, Jasar.
   Mahmúdsháhí,* in Pabnah, Jasar.
2. Husainábád, in Ṭánḍah and in the 24-Parganahs.
   Nuçratábád, in Ghorágháṭ.
   Mahmúdábád, a whole Sirkár (Northern Jasar and Bosnah).
3. Husainpúr, in Nadiá, &c.
   Naçíbpúr, in Ṭánḍah.
   Mahmúdpúr, in Dínájpúr.
4. Husain Ujyál, in Nadiá.
   Nuçrat Ujyál, in Maimansingh.

It may also be of interest to remark here that the people of Cháṭgáon (Chittagong) ascribe the first invasion of their District and their conversion to Islám to Nuçrat Sháh. I extract the following passage from a Persian History of Cháṭgáon, entitled 'Ahádís ul-Khawánín' or 'Táríkh i Hamídí.' This History was written by the late Maulawí Hamídullah Khán Bahádur, and was printed last year at Calcutta (8vo., 441 pages, with 34 pages of errata and additions). It contains many interesting facts. The author says (p. 17)—

> In former days, wandering Faqírs and poor Muhammadans came to Cháṭgáon district, and built opposite to Hindú shrines and Mug temples spurious graves, giving out that they were the resting-places of the renowned saints Báyazíd of Bisṭám† and 'Abdul Qádir of Gílán, who never put their feet on this heathenish shore. These faqírs made some money and attracted Muhammadan pilgrims from the neighbouring districts. And about 250 or 300 years ago, Náçiruddín Nuçratsháh, a king of Bengal, conquered the territory, fighting with the Mugs, and introduced in

* In consequence of the Bengali spelling "Mahamodshahee," this name is often corrupted to Muhammadsháhí. Thus in Mr. Westland's valuable Jessore Report. 'Husainábád' occurs on Husain Sháh's coins.

† *Vide* Westland's Jessore Report, p. 19. He calls him 'Bazid Bostan,' evidently a Bengali corruption.

Chátgáon Muhammadan rites, so that it became a *Dárul Islám.* From ruins and legends it would appear that this Nuçrat Sháh Pádisháh, who was a king or a prince of Bengal, went after the destruction of Gaur, with a large number of Musalmán and Hindú emigrants, to Eastern Bengal, and attacked the Mugs, took their town, and made it a domicile for his men. The reason for his emigration to these parts was this. One Alfá Husainí of Baghdád, a descendant of Fáṭimah [the daughter of the prophet], a great merchant, who possessed much wealth and many slaves and owned fourteen ships, had repeatedly been to Chátgáon, and he used afterwards to go to Bengal, where he urged the king to conquer the district. He also assisted him with ships and material, and thus raised the standard of victory (*nuçrat*) in that country. Husainí, for this reason, became the king's son-in-law, and lived honored and distinguished. In fact up to the beginning of the present time, his descendants were the aristocracy here, and the late Mír Yahyá Islámábádí, founder of the well-known Madrasah, Mullá Mu'inddín Sondípí, and others, traced their descent from Husainí.**** Of the antiquities which point to this religious king, I may mention Mauza' Fathábád, which was so called in remembrance of the conquest (*fath*), and also the great tank in Fathábád, and the mosque there, which was built of enamelled bricks. I have myself seen Nuçrat's mosque with its coloured bricks; but it is now broken and ruined and filled with rubbish. His great tank, the length of which is 700 paces, more or less, still exists, but the water has become bad. On account of the wickedness of the neighbouring people, the trade of the place has declined. People also say that a *pucca* house stood near it, which decayed and got covered with jungle and was full of snakes. Hence people set it on fire, and burned it down with the serpents and all. But prior to Aurangzíb's conquest, no Muhammadan king besides Nuçrat Sháh is said to have come here.

Of the antiquities from the time before the Mughul conquest, but after that of Nuçrat Sháh, I must mention the old mosque near Fathábád, in Hát Hazárí [12 miles north of Chátgáon]. A very strong pillar is said to stand in it, from which water constantly trickles. The foundation of the town of Bhaluah, and the digging of the Bhaluah tank, are generally referred to the time of Nuçrat Sháh.

Of the inscriptions belonging to the reign of Nuçrat Sháh the earliest is one found by General Cunningham on a mound near Sa'dípúr, Sunnárgáon. I read it as follows:

قال الله تعالی و ان المساجد لله فلا تدعوا مع الله احدًا و قال النبي صلي الله
عليه و سلم من بني مسجدا لله يبتغي به وجه الله بني الله له مثله في الجنة
بني هذا المسجد لله في عهد السلطان المعظم المكرم السلطان ابن السلطان ناصر الدنيا
و الدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان الحسيني خلد الله
ملكه و سلطانه و بناه لوجه الله مع بيت السقاية ملك الامراء و الوزراء قدوة الفقهاء
و المحدثين تقي الدين ابن عين الدين المعروف ببار ملك المجلس بن مختار
المجلس ابن سرور سلمه الله تعالی في الدارين في سنة تسع و عشرون و تسعماية ॥

God Almighty says, 'Surely the Mosques belong to God; worship no one else besides God. The prophet says, 'He who builds a mosque for God, seeking thereby the reward of God, will have one like it built for him by God in Paradise.

This mosque was built in the reign of the great, the liberal king, the son of a king, **Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh**, the king, son of **Husain Sháh** the king, the descendant of Husain [Al Husainí],—May God continue his kingdom and rule! It was erected, in order to obtain the reward of God, together with the well, by the Malik ul Umará wal-Wuzará, the chief of the lawyers and teachers of the Hadís, **Taqí uddín**, son of 'Ain uddín, known as **Bár Malik ul-Majlis**, son of Mukhtár ul-Majlis, son of Sarwar. May God preserve him in both worlds! In the year 929 A. H. [A. D. 1523]

It is a pity that this inscription does not mention the month; for if it did, we could approximately fix the death of Husain and the accession of Nuçratsháh.

Another inscription of Nuçrat Sháh, referring to A. H. 936, was published in this Journal, Vol. xxxix, 1870, p. 278, and I now add a reading of the *Qadam Rasúl* inscription of 937, of which the Society has received two rubbings, one from Mr. W. L. Heeley, C. S., to whom the Society owes a large collection of Gaur rubbings, and another by General Cunningham, whose splendid collection of Hindú and Muhammadan inscriptions of Upper India and Bengal has just reached the Society.

قال الله تعالی من جاء بالحسنة فله عشر امثالها * بني هذه الصفة المطهرة
و حجرها التي فيه (*sic*) اثر قدم رسول الله صلي الله عليه و سلم السلطان المعظم
المكرم السلطان ابن السلطان ناصر الدنيا و الدين ابو المظفر نصرتشاه السلطان بن
حسين شاه السلطان بن سيد اشرف الحسيني خلد الله ملكه و سلطانه و اعلی امره
و شانه في سنه سبع و ثلثين و تسعماية ||

God Almighty says, 'He who brings the good deed, will be rewarded ten fold.' [Qorán, vi. 161]. This pure dais and its stone, on which is the foot print of the Prophet—May God bless him!—were put up by the great, generous king, the son of a king, **Náçiruddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Nuçrat Sháh**, the king, son of **Husain Sháh**, the king, son of Sayyid Ashraf ul Husainí,—May God perpetuate his kingdom and rule, and elevate his condition and dignity! In the year 937, A. H. [A. D. 1530-31.]

The *Riyáz* and Stewart give the date of the *Qadam Rasúl* to be A. H. 939, but the rubbing clearly shews 937.

Nuçrat Sháh was murdered by his eunuchs in 939. This year, though not mentioned in the *Riyáz*, is yet implied by his account, whatever his source may have been. The *Tabaqát* gives a short account of Nuçrat's reign till 939, and then says—"After this, the history of the Bangális has not come to hand. Naçíb Sháh reigned eleven years, and shortly afterwards, Bengal was taken by Sher Sháh." Firishtah's account is extraordinary and unreliable. He says that Naçíb died in 943, but that the manner of his death was unknown. He was succeeded by Mahmúd, *a Bangálí nobleman*, who being attacked by Sher Sháh fled to Humáyún. The *Riyáz* adds that some historians say, Nuçrat Sháh reigned sixteen years, others thirteen, others still less.

3. *'Aláuddín Fírúz Sháh*, son of Nuçrat Sháh. The *Riyáz* is the only history that mentions him under the name of Fírúz. His source is unknown to me. The existence of this king is now proved by the above inscription (p. 332). General Cunningham has had for some time in his possession a sealing-wax impression of a coin belonging to this king. The coin is, I believe, in the British Museum. Stewart and Marsden give Fírúz Sháh only three months. The MS. of the *Riyáz* in the Society's Library unfortunately appears to be defective in this part, the passage being—

هنوزسه سال (*sic*) سلطنت کرده بود (؟) نه سلطان محمود بنگالي (که) يکي از
هژده پسر سلطان علاو الدين حسين بود و نصرت شاه او را بامارت سربلندی داده
بود و تازگي نصرت شاه [تا زندگیء نصرت شاه ؟] سلوك امرايانه ميداشت درين
وقت قابو يافته فيروز شاه را بقتل آورده بر سرير سلطنت بورثهٔ پدر خود جلوس نمود ॥

He had reigned..... (?) three years (?), when Sultán Mahmúd of Bengal, one of the eighteen sons of 'Aláuddín Husain Sháh, who had been raised by Nuçrat Sháh to the position of an Amír, and who during the life of Nuçrat Sháh had been treated as such, found an opportunity and killed Fírúz Shah, and ascended the throne of royalty among the heirs of his father.

4. *Ghiásuddín Mahmúd Sháh*, the last independent king of Bengal (940 to 944). He is the "El Rey Mamud de Bengala" with whom Alfonso de Mello made a treaty, as will be found in Barros' 'Da Asia.' When besieged in Gaur by Sher Sháh's army under Jalál Khán and Khawáç Khán, he applied to Nunode Cuna, the governor of the Portuguese settlements, for help; but the nine ships sent to him did not arrive in Bengal till after the surrender of the city (944). Mahmúd's fate is known the *Táríkh i Sher Sháhí.** The *Akbarnámah* (Lucknow Edition, I, p. 184) calls Mahmúd "*Naçíb Sháh.*" According to the *Riyáz*, Mahmúd died at K'halgáon (945), from grief at the loss of his two sons or from the wounds he had received in defending Gaur.

The only inscription that I have seen of Mahmúd Sháh is the following from General Cunningham's collection. It refers to the building of a mosque in Sa'dullahpúr, Gaur, by a lady whose name is not mentioned.

قال النبی صلی الله عليه و سلم من بنی مسجدا لله بني الله له بيتا مثله في
الجنة * بنی هذا المسجد الجامع فی عهد السلطان ابن السلطان غياث الدنيا
و الدين ابو المظفر محمود شاه السلطان ابن حسين شاه السلطان خلد الله ملكه
و سلطانه و بانيه بيبی التی دامت سيرها و ادام الله معاليها فی سنه احدی اربعين
و تسعماية ॥

The Prophet says, ' He who builds a mosque for God, will have a house like it built for him by God in Paradise. This Jámi' Mosque was built during the reign of

* *Vide* the translation of this interesting history by the Hon'ble E. C. Bayley, in Dowson's edition of Elliot's History of India, IV, pp. 360 and 364. The 'Bahrkúndah' mentioned there, is Bharkúndah in Bírbhúm (*vide Ain* text, I, 406).

the king, the son of a king, Ghiásuddunyá waddín Abul Muzaffar Mahmúd Sháh, the king, son of Husain Sháh the king,—may God perpetuate his kingdom and rule. Its builder is a lady,—May she long live, and may God continue her high position! 941 A. H. [A. D. 1534-35.]

A Picnic in Ancient India.—*By* BA'BU RA'JENDRALA'LA MITRA.

The Vedas represent the ancient Indo-Aryans to have been eminently religious in all their actions. According to them, every act of life had to be accompanied by one or more mantras, and no one could rise from his bed, or wash his face, or brush his teeth, or drink a glass of water, without going through a regular system of purifications, salutations, and prayers; and if he really did practice all the rites and ceremonies enjoined in those works, his life doubtless must have been an unbroken chain of religious observances from birth to burning-ground. It would seem, however, that the bulk of the community did nothing of the kind. Certain sacraments and initiatory rites everybody had to go through, and well-to-do persons had to celebrate feasts and fasts from time to time; but in all such cases, the heaviest burden they had to bear was a pecuniary one, the actual performance of the ceremonies being left to the priesthood. Before the Tántric form of worship got currency in the country, the S'údra had literally nothing to do by way of religious exercise beyond evincing a reverential devotion when he employed one or more Bráhmans to perform a sacrifice, or get through a sacrament, and to salute and bow as often as required. No Vedic mantra could be repeated by him even when offering water to the spirits of his ancestors, and there was for him no other set form of prayer wherewith to address the Great Father of the universe. The Vais'ya and the Kshatríya, as belonging to the twice-born classes, and having the right to wear the sacrificial cord, were at liberty to repeat Vedic mantras, and had to repeat them when going through particular sacraments, or performing s'ráddhas; but like the S'udras before the Tántric period, they had no regular service for daily observance beyond one or more salutations to the great soul of the sun, or the repetition of the Gáyatrí. At the periodical feasts and fasts they, as Yajamánas, or the institutors of sacrifices, provided the wherewithal to perform the rites and ceremonials, installed the priests in their respective offices, and recompensed them for their labour. But in the actual work of repeating mantras, offering oblations, and going through the ritual, they took but a slender share.

It was the Bráhman only for whom the Vedas enjoined an endless round of rites, ceremonies and observances, innumerable mantras for repetition on different occasions, and a host of fasts and penances extending from three

nights to many years. But as they formed but a small section of the general community, their examples, however well calculated to restrain immorality and induce a religious spirit, did not keep the people engaged in actual religious ceremonies for any protracted period, or too frequently. At any rate, the claims of religion on their time and attention were not greater than what they were on those of other nations of antiquity; and the people at large ate and drank and enjoyed life without any serious let or hindrance. Even Bráhmans, when not actually engaged in the performance of sacrifices, were not debarred from the sweets and pleasures of the world, and the most ancient treatise* on the various ways of enjoying the society of women, *i. e.* on the *ars erotica*, is due to a hoary sage named S'áṅkháyana, whose ordinances are held to be quite as sacred as the Vedas themselves.

Little is, however, known as to how the people enjoyed themselves in their light moments, and of the games, pastimes, recreations and entertainments which pleased them the most. I think, therefore, that the following extract from the Harivaṅs'a Parva of the Mahábhárata, (chapters 146-47)† affording a most graphic picture of an ancient Indian Picnic, will not be uninteresting to the readers of the Journal. It depicts a state of society so entirely different from what we are familiar with in the present day, or in the later Sanskrit literature, that one is almost tempted to imagine that the people who took parts in it were some sea-kings of Norway, or Teuton knights carousing after a fight, and not Hindus; and yet if the S'astras are to be believed, they were the Hindus of Hindus, the two most prominent characters among them being no less than incarnations of the Divinity, and another a holy sage, who had abjured the world for constant communion with his Maker, and whose law treatise (*Nárada Saṅhitá*) still governs the conscience of the people.

The scene of the Picnic was a watering-place on the west coast of Guzerat near Dvárká, named Piṇḍáraka. It is described as a *tírtha* or sacred pool, and the trip to it is called *tírtha yátrá*, or a pilgrimage to a holy place; but the sequel shows that the trip was one of pleasure and had nothing religious about it. The party, headed by Baladeva, Kṛishṇa, and Arjuna, issued forth with their families and thousands of courtezans, spent the day in bathing, feasting, drinking, singing and dancing, and returned home without performing any of the numerous rites and ceremonies, which pilgrims are bound by the S'ástras to attend to.

The presence of the courtezans in the company is a fact worthy of special note, for although Hindu society has always looked upon fallen women with kind, indulgent eyes, and instances are on record of such persons having

* S'áṅkháyana Káma Sútra.

† Owing to an error in numbering in the Asiatic Society's edition of the Harivaṅs'a, the chapters there appear as 147 and 148.

been admitted into respectable household after proper expiations, the S'ástras are peremptory in condemning all association with them as long as they remain unreclaimed, especially on the part of women of family, and modern and mediæval custom has never permitted any such association as is implied by bathing, eating, drinking, dancing, and singing together. It indicates a sad laxity of morals, and the state of society which permitted this, cannot but be condemned. The Yádavas, however, felt no compunction in that respect, and not only allowed their wives and daughters freely to mix with harlots, but themselves joined the party, and indulged in unrestrained debauchery in the presence of parents and seniors. The only person who formed an exception was Baladeva. His constancy to his only wife, Revatí, is the theme of praise everywhere; and never has his character been assailed for even the slightest neglect of his conjugal duty. At the Picnic he appears, as was his wont, tottering with drink; but he is always beside his consort, and gratifies himself by bathing and singing and dancing with her, and her alone.

Drinking appears to be another indulgence to which the Yádavas were extremely addicted. Family women and prostitutes freely joined the men in these bacchanalian orgies, and the poet who records their deeds, seems to take a delight in pointing how some tottered, and others fell, and others became reckless. The stuff they drank was of five kinds, namely, *kádambari*, *mádhvika*, *maireya*, *ásava*, and *surá*—all strong spirits prepared in different ways. The first was distilled from the ripe fruit of the kadamba (*Nauclea kadamba*), which is highly saccharine, but not edible in its natural state. Baladeva was particularly attached to this drink, and his name is rarely mentioned in the Puráṇas without some reference to it. In the present day, the fruit is not used in any way, and only affords a repast to the large frugivorous bats called flying-foxes. The second was distilled from the ripe petals of the *Bassia latifolia*,—the mowá of the North West Provinces, where it is to this day extensively manufactured for the use of the lower orders of the people. The third was rum seasoned with the blossoms of the *Lythrum fruticosum*. The fourth was pure rum; and the last arrack distilled from rice meal. These spirits were, I imagine, always drunk neat, for there is no mention any where of their having been diluted; and hence probably was the necessity of eating a little of sugared or salted cake or subacid fruits after every draft to take off the pungency of the drink from the mouth. At the picnic, fried birds are especially mentioned for this purpose. There are several words in the Sanskrit language to serve as generic names for these "wine biscuits," and no description of a drinking bout is complete without reference to such eatables. Even in the present day, no native ever thinks of drinking without having some such food by his side.

The description of the banquet is also remarkable. The *pièce de resistance* at the meal was not rice or bread, as one would expect in India,

but roast buffalo, which seemed to have been a favourite dish with the Hindus in former days, and I find in the *Vana Parva* of the Mahábhárata that buffalo meat was publicly sold in the market,* and the stalls displaying it were crowded by customers. In Kashmír, such meat, I am told, is regularly sold in the present day to Hindu purchasers, and the lower orders of the people in Bengal, such as Muchis, are particularly fond of it. The meat was roasted on spits, ghi being dropped on it as the dressing proceeded, and seasoned with acids, sochel salt and sorrel leaves. Venison was liked in a boiled state, dressed in large haunches, and garnished with sorrel, mangoes, and condiments. Shoulders and rounds of other kinds of meat in large pieces were boiled, roasted on spits, or fried in ghi, and sprinkled over with sea salt and powdered black pepper.

Beef, however, is not mentioned as forming an ingredient in the feast, although the Mahábhárata elsewhere describes a king named Rantideva, who used to slaughter daily two thousand heads of cattle, besides as many other animals, for use in his kitchen. He is described as a most virtuous king who acquired great religious merit by daily feeding innumerable hosts of beggars with beef.†

Curries were likewise prepared with meat, but did not take a prominent part in the bill of fare. Even little birds were preferred roasted on spits to being fried or curried. The text is silent as to the species of the birds used; but in the Grihya Sútra of Ásvaláyana, partridges *(tittiri)* are recommended as appropriate for infants just beginning to take solid food, and ducks, doves, pigeons, and ortolans were formerly in common use.

For sauces and adjuncts, tamarind, pomegranates, sweet basil, acid herbs, ginger, assafœtida, and radishes were largely used.

The text is not clear as to whether the buffalo meat was roasted entire, or in cut pieces, but the haunches, shoulders, and rounds, dressed entire, must have necessitated some kind of carving. As no allusion is, however, anywhere made to knife and fork, it is to be supposed that "the cooks, who, under the superintendence of diligent stewards," served at the

* मार्गमाहिषमांसानि विक्रीणन्तं तपस्विनं ।
आकुलत्वाच्च क्रेतॄणामेकान्ते संस्थिता द्विजः ।
वनपर्वणि २०६ अध्याये १३७११ स्लोकः ।

† राज्ञो महानसे पूर्वं रन्तिदेवस्य वै द्विज ।
द्वे सहस्रे तु वध्येते पशूनामन्वहं तदा ।
अहन्यहनि वध्येते द्वे सहस्रे गवां तथा ।
समांसं ददतो ह्यन्नं रन्तिदेवस्य नित्यशः ।
अतुला कीर्त्तिरभवन्नृपस्य द्विजसत्तम ।
वनपर्वणि २०२ अध्याये १३८०९—१०—११ स्लोका ।

feast, must have carved the meat before offering it to the guests, in the same way as is done in Persia, Arabia and other Moslim countries. It was in fact the French custom of carving on the side-board, which is so fast gaining ground in England. The idea of such carving just before serving, is horrifying in India in the present day, and no meat food is dressed in larger pieces than what can be served to one person. Sweetmeats and cakes, when intended for offerings to gods, are sometimes made very bulky, but when prepared for man, they are seldom made larger than what would suffice for one individual.

Of cakes, the text does not afford a good list, nor does it mention their constituents in any detail. Sugar and cheese are the only substantial materials named, and salt, ginger, saffron, and ghi as adjuncts. The only three kinds of made cakes I can recognize are *árdra*, a cake made of sugar and cocoanut gratings spiced with ginger, now called *ádraki;* candied sugar coated with tila seed—*khaṇḍaka*, now known as *vírakhaṇḍi;* and *ghrita-purṇaka* a compound of flour, sugar, and ghi, common in the present day in the North-West under the name of *ghewar*. These were partaken along with wine, as dessert, after the first course of meat had been finished.

It is not distinctly mentioned whether the ladies joined the party at the first meal, but as they were present at the dessert and regaled themselves with spirits, roasted birds, and sweetmeats; and the elders, who did not partake of flesh meat and spirits, remained in the company, and made their repast on vegetables, fruits, curds, milk, whey, cream and the like, the inference becomes inevitable that the woman-kind did sit with their lords at the first course, and partake of the meat food. This may appear shocking to modern Hindu ideas of propriety, but where the whole course of life and rules of social relationship were entirely different, this departure from strict etiquette, even when opposed to the maxims and canons of the S'ástras, cannot be taken to be such as not to be probable.

The descriptions of dancing, singing, music, and dramatic exhibitions speak for themselves and call for no remark. In dancing, the practice seems to have been for each man to take his wife for his partner, and accordingly we see Baladava dancing with his wife Revatí, Kṛishṇa with Satyabáhmá, and Arjuna with Subhadrá. Those who had no wives with them, danced with public women; but they all danced and sang together, in the same arena without any sort of restraint. Those who were so unfortunate as not to get partners danced by themselves, and often became the butt of their neighbours' wit and humour. The part which the sage Nárada takes in dancing, gesticulation and mimicry, and as the butt of every practical joke, is worthy of particular note, as showing that the saintly character of ancient Indian sages, was by no means a bar to their joining in fun and frolic, and partaking of the pleasures of the world. Dancing with one's own wife will doubtless

appear to Europeans in the light of a sample of Eastern jealousy; but to modern Indians the mere fact of ladies of rank dancing before a large assemblage, and in the presence of seniors, will not fail to strike as highly reprehensible. To qualify the ladies for taking a becoming part in such entertainments it was formerly necessary to employ a music master in every respectable household. As in Italy two centuries ago, so in India many centuries before that, eunuchs were much esteemed for the sweetness of their voice, and held in great requisition as teachers of music, and in the Viráṭa Parva of the Mahábhárata, Arjuna becomes a eunuch, in order to serve as a music master to the daughter of a king.

I do not find any reference to maidens as forming members of the picnic party, and the description in a subsequent chapter of Bhánumatí, the maiden daughter of Bhánu, a Yádava chief, having been abducted from her home by the demon Nikumbha, while the Yádavas were away from Dvárká, engaged in their carousals, would suggest the inference that they were not taken to such gatherings.

The description of the picnic in the Harivañsa runs as follows: The translation is anything but literal, and many epithets and repetitions have been omitted, but not a single word has been put in of which there is not a counterpart in the original, or which has not been rendered necessary for the sake of idiom.

"When Vishṇu of unrivalled vigour dwelt at Dváravatí,* he once desired to visit the sea-side watering-place† of Pinḍáraka. Appointing king Vasudeva and Ugrasena regents for the management of state affairs, he started with the rest (of his family).

"The wise Baladeva, the lord of regions, Janárdana and the princes, earthly lords of god-like glory, issued forth in separate parties. Along with the handsome and well adorned princes, came thousands of prostitutes. These dealers on their beauty had been originally introduced into Dváravatí by the mighty Jádavas, who had brought them away from the palaces of the Daityas whom they had conquered. These were common harlots who had been kept for the entertainment of the Jádava princes. Kṛishṇa had kept them in the city with a view to prevent unseemly brawls which, at one time, used to take place on account of women.

"Baladeva went out with his only affectionate wife, Revatí, on whom the glorious chief of the Yadu race, entertained the feeling which the Chakraváka has for his mate.‡ Adorned with garlands of wild flowers, and jubilant with draughts of kádamba wine, he disported with Revati in the ocean waters.

* Dvárká, so called from its having had many doors, "the city of a hundred gates."

† Lit. *tirtha* a sacred pool, but the sequel will show that the trip was one in quest of pleasure and not a pilgrimage for religious merit.

‡ The Bráhmani drake, *Anas rutila*, is said to be the most constant of husbands.

"Govinda of the lotus eye entertained himself in many forms with his sixteen thousand wives, so pleasing every body, that each thought Kṛishṇa was most attached to her, and it was for her only that he was in the ocean water. They were all exceedingly gratified and delighted with Kṛishṇa. Thinking herself to be the greatest favourite, each cast the most bewitching glances on him, sang in great delight, and seemed to drink him with her eyes.* Each carried her head high at the idea of being the greatest favourite, and, without any feeling of jealousy for their rivals, loved him with the most tender passion. Thus enjoyed Kṛishṇa his sport in the clear water of the sea, (even as if) he had assumed a multiplicity of shapes for the gratification of his numerous consorts. By his order, the ocean then circulated clear and fragrant water, devoid of all saltness. Standing ankle-deep or knee-deep, thigh-deep or breast-deep, each according to her choice, the ladies in great glee threw showers of water on Kṛishṇa, even as the heaven pours on the sea; and Kṛishṇa, in his turn, showered water on the ladies, as gentle clouds drizzle on flowering creepers. One fawn-eyed nymph leaning on his shoulder, cried out "Help, help, I am falling;" others swam leaning on floats of diverse forms, some shaped like cranes, others like peacocks, others like serpents, or dolphins or fish. Some, resting on their breasts like pitchers, swam about in great joy for the gratification of Janárdana. Delighted with the sight, Kṛishṇa sported with Rukmiṇí, even as the lord of the immortals sports with his consort; and his other wives did what each thought likely to please him most. Some gazelle-eyed damsels disported in the water with very thin raiment on their persons; and Kṛishṇa, knowing their feeling, did for each just what she would like most at the time. The ladies thought that in birth and accomplishment he was in every way worthy of them, and so they devoted themselves to his gratification, to win his sweet smile, and delightful converse, and charming affection.

Separated at night from each other, the drake and the duck, mourn their hard fate, and send forth from the opposite banks of a river their lamentions to each other; "Chakwi, shall I come?" "No, chakwa." "Chakwa, shall I come?" "No, chakwi," being the burthen of their woe. The legend has it that two lovers, for some indiscretion, were transformed into Bráhmani drake and duck, and condemned to pass the night apart from each other on opposite banks of a river. A Bengali epigram says, a fowler shut up a drake and a duck in the same cage at night, whereupon said the duck: "How happy even this sad state when the fowler appears kinder than our fate."

চক্রবাক চক্রবাকী একই পিঞ্জরে ।
নিশাযোগে নিষাদ আনিল নিজ ঘরে ॥
চকী বলে চকাপ্রিয় এ বড় কৌতুক ।
বিধি হতে ব্যাধ ভাল এত দুঃখে সুখ ॥

* Very loosely rendered and several words omitted.

"The accomplished and heroic princes, in a separate company, entertained themselves in the sea waters with the damsels that had come with them, and who were proficient in dancing and singing. Though forcibly brought away from their homes, these women had been overcome by the suavity of the princes; and the latter in their turn were delighted with the singing and acting and dancing of these excellent creatures.

"At this time, Kṛishṇa sent for Panchachúḍá, Kauverí, Máhendrí, and other accomplished Apsarás to heighten the pleasures of the entertainment, and when they, with folded hands, appeared before him, and saluted him, the Lord of the universe spoke to them most encouragingly, and desired them to join the fête without fear. 'For my sake,' said he, 'O fair ones, entertain the Yadus; exhibit to them your rare proficiency in dancing and singing, as well as in acting and music of diverse kinds. These are all myself in different persons, and if you entertain them well, and acquit yourselves becomingly, I shall grant you all your desires.'

"The charming Apsarás respectfully received the orders of Hari, and entered joyfully the pleasant throng of the noble heroes. Their advent on the waters shed new lustre on the wide ocean, like lightning playing on the breast of heavy dark clouds. Standing on water as on land, they played on aquatic musical instruments, and enacted heavenly scenes of delight. By their aroma and garlands and toilette, by their coquetry, blandishment, and wanton dalliance, these sweet ones with beaming eyes robbed the minds of the heroes. By their side glances and hints and smiles, by their assumed arrogance and mirth and complaisance, they completely charmed their audience. When the princes were overcome with wine, these bewitching actresses lifted them high in the air, and anon held them in their hands, looking at them with enchanting grace.

"Kṛishṇa himself commenced the same pastime with his sixteen thousand wives for their gratification, and this did not excite the ridicule or wonder of the Yadus, for they knew his worth and nature, and preserved their gravity. Some ran to the Raivataka hill, some to houses, and some to the jungle, whatever suited them best, and returned immediately after. By order of Vishṇu, the lord of regions, the undrinkable water of the ocean then became drinkable, and the damsels with beaming eyes, taking each other by the hand, walked on the water as on land, now diving deep, and anon rising on the surface.

"Of eatables and drinkables, of things to be chewed, of things to be swallowed, of things to be sucked, and of things to be licked, there was nothing wanting, and whatever was desired was immediately forthcoming.

"Wearing fresh garlands, these faultless women, never to be overcome, entertained themselves in private in the cabins of pleasant boats even as do the gods.

"Having thus bathed, the Andhakas and the Vishṇis in the afternoon entertained themselves by perfuming their persons with unguents on board their boats. Some of the cabins in these vessels were wide, others square, others circular, others like the svastika, others like the Mandára hill, while others like the Kailása and the Sumeru mountains. Some were shaped like birds, some like wolves, some like the painted Garuḍa, some like cranes, some like parrots, and some like elephants; some painted with gateways of lapis lazuli, some gilt, some bedecked with rubies and pearls and lapis lazulis, and other gems,—all designed for the purpose by Vis'vakarmá. Guided by able seamen, these boats, bright as gold, added new lustre to the billows. Pleasure boats and tenders and large vessels with commodious cabins adorned the bed of the flowing main. When these noble vessels moved about on the sea, they seemed like the abodes of Gandharvas floating in the air. The heavenly architect, Vis'vákarmá, had, in these cabins, depicted gardens and trees and tanks and festal halls and cars in imitation of those in the Nandana Park of Indra, and they were in no way inferior to their heavenly archetypes.

"By order of Vishṇu birds were singing sweetly and delightfully in the forest; white cuckoos of paradise cooed mellifluently for the gratification of the heroes; peacocks, surrounded by their hens, danced gracefully on the tops of the cabins resplendent as moonbeams. The flags of the vessels bore the pictures of birds; and the garlands on the vehicles were musical with the hum of bees. By order of Náráyana the trees (in the neighbourhood) produced fragrant flowers of all seasons; the zephyr, loaded with the pollen of various flowers and the aroma of the sandal-wood, blew gently, driving away all exhaustion—now warm and anon cool according to the varying desires of the picnicians. No hunger, no thirst, no langour, no ennui, no grief assailed them, when through the grace of Vásudeva, they were engaged in this delightful fête of music, singing, and dancing.

"Thus did these god-like heroes, protected by the wielder of the discus, occupy themselves in their aquatic recreations, spreading over many leagues (yojana) of the sea, the abode of waters.

"For the sixteen thousand wives of Krishṇa, Vis'vakarmá had provided appropriate vessels bedecked with the choicest jewels to be found in the three regions of the universe, and furnished with becoming wardrobes. Each wife had her separate cabin, decorated with lapis lazuli, gold, and floral treasures of every season, and redolent with the finest perfumes.

"The long-armed and handsome Baladeva, covered with sandal paste, with eyes glowing crimson under the influence of kádambari wine, and unsteady steps, paid his attention solely to Revati. Dressed in two pieces of sky-blue cloth, bright complexioned as the moon, and languishing-eyed, he appeared charming like the moon partially hidden under a cloud. With a

beauteous earring on the left ear only, and a pretty lotus on the other, beholding the smiling face and arching glance of his love, he entertained himself with her.

"Now, by order of Krishṇa, the destroyer of Kaṅsa and Nikumbha, the charming band of heavenly nymphs repaired to the place of Baladeva to enjoy the sight of Revatí. They saluted Revatí and Baladeva, and then spreading around them, some of the fair and lovely ones danced, while others sang to the sweet cadence of music. Earnest in their desire to entertain Bala and his consort, the lovely daughter of king Revata, and by their desire, they exhibited various dramatic scenes, such, as they thought would prove entertaining. Some of the damsels of fascinating forms, assuming the dress, language, and action of particular places, acted with great delight, beating time with their hands. Some sang the auspicious names of Sañkarshaṇa Adhokshaja, Nandana, and others. Some enacted romantic scenes from the life of Krishṇa, such as the destruction of Kaṅsa and Pralamba; the overthrow of Cháṇura; the tying of Janárdana round the waist by Yasodá which spread wide her fame; the slaughter of the giants Arishṭa, Dhenuka, and S'akuṇi; the life at Vraja; the breaking of the two Arjuna trees; the execution of Vrikas, (wolves); the discomfiture of the wicked Nága king Káliya in a whirlpool of the river Yamuná; the recovery of certain blue lotuses from a lake after destroying the demon S'añkha; the holding up of the hill Govardhana for the protection of kine; the straightening of the humpback of the sandal-paste-grindress Kubjá; the reduction of Krishṇa's own faultless body into a dwarf; the overthrow of the Saubhas, the aerial city of Harischandra; the assumption of the name Haláyudha, or wielder of the ploughshare; the destruction by him of the enemies of the Devas; the defeat of the mighty kings of Gándhára, tying them behind his car, and the rape of their daughters; the abduction of Subhadrá; the victory over Baláhaka and Jambumálí; the loot of jewels, through his soldiers, from Indra. These and others, most delightful subjects, gratifying to Baladeva and Krishṇa, were enacted and sung by those beautiful women.

"Inflamed by plentiful libations of kádamba liquor, Balaráma the majestic, danced in joy with his wife, the daughter of Revata, sweetly beating regular time with his own hands. Beholding this, the damsels, were delighted. The wise and noble Krishṇa, to enhance the enjoyment of Bala, commenced to dance with his wife, Satyabhámá. The mighty hero Pártha, who had come to this sea-side picnic with great delight, joined Krishṇa and danced with the slender and lovely Subhadrá (his wife). The wise Gada, Sárana, Pradyumana, Sámba, Sátyaka, the heroic son of the daughter of Sátrajit (Satyabhámá), the handsome Chárudeshṇa, the heroic princes Nisaṭa and Ulmuka the sons of Baladeva, Sañkava, the generalissimo of the army of Akrura, and others of the heroic race, danced in joy. By the grace of Krishṇa, the

pleasure boats flourished under the dense crowd of the foremost dancers of the Bhaima race. Through the godlike glory of the heroic and most ardent dancers of the Yadu race, the creation smiled in joy, and all the sins of the princes were subdued.

"The Bráhman sage Nárada, the revered of the gods, came to the scene for the gratification of Madhusúdana, and in the midst of the noble Yadus began to dance with his matted locks all dishevelled. He became the central figure in the scene, and danced with many a gesticulation and contortion of his body, laughing at Satyabhámá and Keshava, at Pártha and Subhadrá, at Baladeva, and the worthy daughter of the king of Revata. By mimicking the action of some, the smile of others, the demeanour of a third set, and by similar other means, he set all a-laughing who had hitherto preserved their gravity. For the delectation of Kṛishṇa, imitating the mildest little word of his, the sage screamed and laughed so loudly and repeatedly, that none could restrain himself, and tears came to their eyes (from immoderate laughing). By desire of Kṛishṇa, the ladies gave to Nárada presents of costly jewels and dresses of the rarest description; they showered on him also pearls and celestial garlands of the choicest kind, and flowers of every season.

"When the dance was over, Kṛishṇa took by the hand the venerable sage Nárada of imperturbable mind, and coming to the sea water along with his wife Satyabhámá, Arjuna and others, addressed Sátyaki with a smile, saying, 'let us enter the delightful water with the ladies in two parties. Let Baladeva with Revatí be the leader of one party, consisting of my children and half of the Bhaimas; and let the other half of the Bhaimas and the children of Bala be on my side in the sea water.' Turning then to the regent of the sea, who stood with folded hands before him, the delighted Kṛishṇa said to him: 'Let thy waters be fragrant and clear, and divested of noxious animals; let them be cheering to the sight, and ornamented with jewels, and pleasant to walk upon. Knowing by my grace what is in each person's mind, render yourself agreeable to one and all. Render thy waters drinkable or undrinkable, according to each individual's choice; let thy fishes be inoffensive and diversified in colour like gold and jewels and pearls and lapis-lazuli. Hold forth all thy jewels, and lotuses, red and blue, blooming and fragrant and soft, full of sweet-flavored honey, over which the bees should pour their hum. Place on thy waters urns full of mairaya,* mádhvika,† surá,‡ and ásava,§ and supply the Bhaimas golden goblets wherewith to drink those liquors. Let thy mighty waters be cool and calm and redolent with rafts full of flowers; and be mindful that my Yadus be not in any way incommoded.'

* Spirituous liquor made of the blossoms of *Lythrum fruticosum* with sugar.

† Ditto made of the blossoms of the *Bassia latifolia.*

‡ Ditto of rice meal,—arrack.

§ Ditto of sugar,—rum.

"Having thus issued his orders to the sea, he commenced to play with Arjuna, while Satyabhámá, incited by a wink of Kṛishṇa, began to throw water on Nárada. Then Balaráma, tottering with drink, with great glee fell into the water, and beckoning the charming daughter of Revata by his side, took her by the hand. The sons of Kṛishṇa and the leading Bhaimas, who belonged to the party of Ráma, joyous and bent on pleasure, unmindful of their dresses and ornaments, and excited by drink, followed him into the sea. The Bhaimas belonging to the party of Kṛishṇa, headed by Nishaṭha and Ulmuka, arrayed in many-coloured garments and rich jewels and bedecked with garlands of párijáta flowers, with bodies painted with sandal wood paste and unguents, excited by wine, and carrying aquatic musical instruments in their hands, began to sing songs appropriate for the occasion. By order of Kṛishṇa, hundreds of courtezans, led by the heavenly Apsarás, played various pleasing tunes on water and other instruments. Always bent on love, these damsels, proficient in the art of playing on musical instruments in use on the aerial Ganges,* played on the instrument called *Jaladarddura*† and sweetly sang to its accompaniment. With eyes glorious as lotus buds and with chaplets of lotuses on their crowns, these courtezans of paradise appeared resplendent as new-blown lotuses. The surface of the sea was covered by the reflection of hundreds of moon-like feminine faces, seeming as if by divine wish thousands of moons suddenly shot forth in the firmament. The cloud-like sea was relieved by these damsels like dazzling streaks of the charming mistresses of the thunderbolt,—even as the rain-bearing cloud of the sky is set off by lightning. Krishṇa and Nárada, with all those who were on their side, began to pelt water on Bala and his party; and they in their turn did the same on the party of Kṛishṇa. The wives of Bala and Kṛishṇa, excited by libations of arrack, followed their example, and squirted water in great glee with syringes in their hands. Some of the Bhaima ladies, over-weighted by the load both of love and wine, with crimson eyes and masculine garbs, entertained themselves before the other ladies, squirting water. Seeing that the fun was getting fast and furious, Kṛishṇa of the discus-hand, desired them to restrain themselves within bounds; but he himself immediately joined in play with Nárada and Pártha to the music of the water instruments. Though they were ardently engaged in their entertainment, still the moment Kṛishṇa expressed his wish, the Bhaima ladies at once desisted, and joyously commenced to dance for the gratification of their lovers.

"On the conclusion of the dance, the considerate lord Kṛishṇa rose from the water, and, presenting unguents to the learned sage, put them on himself. The Bhaimas, seeing him rise from the water, followed his example, and, put-

* It is supposed that there is a counterpart of the terrene Ganges in the air.

† I cannot find any description of this instrument in treatises on Music.

ting on their dress, repaired by his order to the banqueting hall. There they took their seats according to their respective ranks, ages, and relationship, and cheerfully commenced the work of eating and drinking. Cleanly cooks, under the superintendence of diligent stewards, served them large pieces of meat roasted on spits, and meat cooked as curries, and sauces made of tamarinds and pomegranates; young buffaloes roasted on spits and dressed by dropping ghi thereon; the same fried in ghi, seasoned with acids and sochel salt and sorrel leaves; large haunches of venison boiled in different ways with sorrel and mangoes, and sprinkled over with condiments; shoulders and rounds of animals dressed in ghi, well sprinkled over with sea salt and powdered black-pepper, and garnished with radishes, pomegranates, lemon, sweet basil, *Ocymum gratissimum,* assafœtida, ginger, and the herb *Andropogon schœnanthus.* Of drinkables, too, of various kinds, the party partook most plentifully with appropriate relishes.* Surrounded by their loved ones, they drank of maireya, mádhvika, surạ, and ásava, helping them on with roasted birds, seasoned with pungent condiments, ghi, acids, sochel salt, and oil; cakes of rich flavour, some made with clayed sugar, some colored with saffron, and some salted; ginger comfits, cheese,† sweet cakes full of ghi, and various kinds of candied stuffs.

" Udhvava Bhoja and others, respected heroes who did not drink, heartily feasted on various kinds of cooked vegetables and fruits, broths, curds, and milk, drinking from cups made of shells fragrant rasála of diverse kinds‡ and milk boiled with sugar.

" After their feast the gallant Bhaima chiefs, along with their ladies, joyfully commenced again to sing such choice delightful songs as were agreeable to the ladies. The Lord Upendra (Krishṇa) was pleased at night to order the singing of the *chhálikya* song which is called *Devagandharva.* Thereupon Nárada took up his Viná of six octaves whereon could be played all the six musical modes (rága) and every kind of tune, Krishna undertook to beat time with cymbals, and the lordly Arjuna took up a flute, while the delighted and excellent Apsarás engaged themselves in playing on the mridanga and other musical instruments. Then Rambhá, the accomplished actress,

* *Upadarsa.* The commentator Nílakaṇṭha, takes this word for drinking goblets. Wilson in his dictionary explains it to mean, " a relish, or something to promote drinking." The last has the support of ancient lexicons.

† Rasála is a kind of sherbet made with cream, curds, sugar and spices largely diluted with water.

‡ The commentator Nílakaṇṭha has failed completely in explaining some of the words; *Kiláṭa* for instance, he takes to be an adjective meaning things made of buffalo milk, whereas its true meaning is cheese, and the word in the mutilated form láṭ is still current in the vernacular for decomposed or curdled milk. The two words preceding it in the text are *lavanánnitán, árdrán,* salted and moist or juicy, *i. e.,* salted plump cheese. The commentator, however, takes the word *ardrán* for a [illegible] meaning ginger comfits.

cheerfully rising from one side of the court delighted Ráma and Janárdana by her acting and her exquisitely slender figure.

"Then Urvasí, of the sparkling eye, Hemá, Mis'rakés'í, Tilottamá, Menaká, and others, for the gratification of Krishna, acted and sang whatever was calculated to prove agreeable and pleasing to the company." Here follows a eulogium on the Chhálikya tune, which was sung in six octaves, and in various modes. The young and the old alike joined in the song, in order, evidently, to bring all the six octaves into play which no single human voice could compass. Originally, it was a spécialité in the concerts of Indra in heaven. On earth Baladava, Krishna, Pradyumna, Aniruddha and Sámba were the most proficient in it, and they taught it to the other Yádavas. Songs for this tune, I understand from my young friend, Bábu Surendramohan Tagore, who has made the Hindu science of music his special study, and possesses a critical knowledge of the subject, were composed of lines of 26 syllables, and scanned in groups of four syllables, the first two being long, the next short, and the last circumflex. The measure of time *(tála)* for singing it was the same, *i. e.*, of two double instants, then one single instant, and lastly a triple instant, making together a measure of eight instants. This measure was called *Chachchatputa.* The subject of the song was always something fierce and heroic. I annex at foot the Sanskrit quotations from the *Sañgita Ratnávali* and the *Sañgita Darpana* furnished me by my friend in support of his explanation.* On the conclusion of this song which was sung by different parties, and repeatedly encored, Krishna rewarded the dancing girls and the heavenly actresses, and the company broke up.

* सङ्गीतरत्नावल्यां तदुक्तं श्रवणामृतं श्रवणे श्रावणप्रत्यक्षे अमृतवत्प्रतीयमानं मनः श्चित्तसुखावहं मनोहरं श्रोत्रहरञ्च छालिक्यं छालिक एव छालिक्यः षोडशविधध्रुवकान्तर्गत-ध्रुवकगीतविशेषस्तं प्रजगिरे प्रजगुः आत्मनेपदमार्षं । छालिकलक्षणन्तु सङ्गीतरत्नावल्या-मुक्तं यथा,——

ताले चच्चत्पुटे वीर रौद्रयोः सकलार्थदः ।
षड्विंशत्यक्षरपदो ललितश्छालिको मतः ॥ इति ।

अस्यार्थः,—चच्चत्पुटे शिवस्य सद्योजात-वामदेवाघोर-तत्पुरुषेशाननामानि पञ्चवद्नानि तेषामाद्यात् सद्योजातात् समुत्पन्ने पञ्चविधमार्गतालान्तर्गततालविशेषे तदुक्तं सङ्गीतदर्पणे ५. ताले चच्चत्पुटे ज्ञेयं गुरु द्वन्द्वं लघु प्लुतं । ११ । ७. "सद्योद्भवः प्लुतवर्ण-चच्चत्पुट इतीरित" इति । वीररौद्ररसव्यञ्जकपदविन्यासाश्रयः षड्विंशत्यक्षरयोजितः मनोहरो गीतविशेषः स एव छालिक्यः सङ्गीतवेदिभिरभिमत इत्येवार्थः ॥

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